HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Does Sen. Kennedy Read the Newspapers?

China Experts Chortle at Bobby's Speech

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Sen. Robert Kennedy needs some new speech writers. Those diplomats in Washington who know the most about China are chortling at the speech he gave to the University of Chicago's "China Conference" on February 8. This might have been written 10 years ago by a member of that "Red China Lobby" whose misrepresentation of Chinese communism misled Truman into withholding decisive aid from Chiang Kai-shek.

This particular lucubration is long, rambling, confused and self-contradictory. It is hopelessly outdated by the Chinese convulsions of the last months.

Kennedy appeals for an American "policy" towards China. Apparently, the containment of Communist aggression is either not a policy or the wrong policy. To support his argument he states that "for the most part [Communist] China has been ignored," a palpable misstatement. Even before the breakdown of the Communist system and Mao's hysterical attacks on the once "brotherly" Soviet Union, the attention was focussed upon Mao's efforts to save his regime by launching a new Children's Crusade.

Even while Red Chinese and Soviet troops are glowering at each other all along their common border, Bobby's speech writer predicts China's "fixation upon internal affairs." He also makes light of "attempts to portray Viet Nam as a Chinese-inspired conflict"—which it decidedly is. He all but celebrates the merger of "the nationalism and traditions of three millenia with a Western revolutionary ideology."

Yet it is precisely Mao's determination to destroy—yes, destroy—three millenia of Chinese traditions, culture and outlook that has brought about the revolt of his own party against him. It accounts for the hostility of the mandarinate, the peasants and part of the armed forces. Doesn't the senator read the newspapers?

Apparently not, for he thinks that "China's revolution can still serve as an example and encouragement to others." Including the use of Red Guards, perhaps, and the war on "economism"? Just when events are revealing the gulf between Confucius and Marx, the senator from New York—or was it the speech writer?—emphasizes the "deep Chinese roots of Chinese communism."

Successive American Administrations have not founded our policy upon "fear and passion and wishful hopes"—as he says. Only the Red China Lobby, now openly championed by hysterical peaceniks like Sen. Fulbright, has done so.

Naturally, Bobby believes that the Soviet Union has "changed," even while it is in the midst of its most dangerous and possibly successful drive of the last 15 years; namely, the attempted domination of the entire Middle East, while keeping the United States bogged down in Viet Nam.

Therefore he urges us to find the terms upon which "reconciliation [with Red China] can and will be carried out." He warns against "extending military operations to Thailand." He assumes that the non-Communist nations of Asia—ultimately responsible for the area—are still on the best political and economic terms with Peking. Nobody has ever told him of the new solidarity against Red China of the Far Eastern nations or that Japan's Prime Minister Sato recently won an election on an openly pro-American policy, which includes quiet support for our action in South Viet Nam.

Sen. Robert Kennedy (D.-N.Y.) tells reporters he received no "peace feelers" during a recent overseas jaunt. Kennedy had just met with President Johnson.

The senator's target is "a Formosa whose indigenous people have no voice in government. We do not even raise our voice in protest against this most flagrant and outrageous situation."

Here he reveals his honorary membership in what remains of the Red China Lobby. His speech writer states:

"The liberation of the mainland by the Nationalist Chinese was at best empty rhetoric and at most a dangerous illusion."

Well, maybe it *was*. Today, as the most astute China watchers in Hong Kong told me last June, it *is* a real possibility. For the situation long seen by Chiang Kai-shek—the repudiation of Mao by a large portion of the Chinese people—is here.

But why go on? Here are enough reasons for the hilarity of informed diplomats in Washington as they heard or read Sen. Kennedy's Chicago speech.

Still, if you do not care what you say so long as you keep the family name in the headlines, facts may be secondary.

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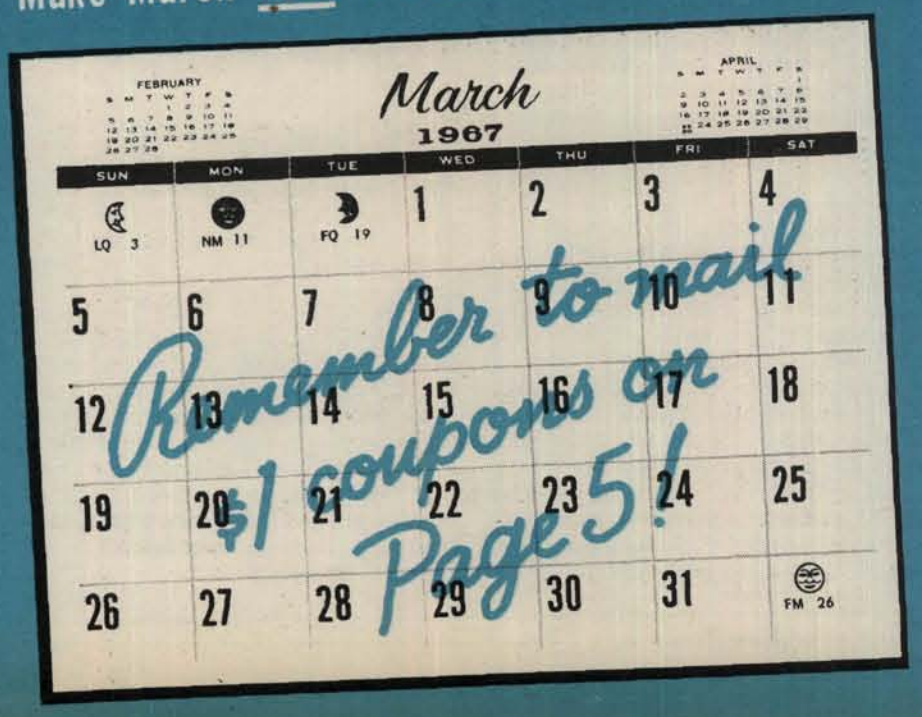

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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● Exiled by jealous politicians and now residing in Madrid, ex-Congolese official **Moise Tshombe** may yet make another attempt to come back to the Congo which is now on the verge of ruin (see page 12). African experts say Tshombe is still a popular hero in the Congo, but that the State Department is doing all it can to prevent his return.

● Former Sen. Barry Goldwater's courtesy invitation to **George Romney** asking the Michigan governor to speak at an Arizona Republican fund-raising dinner in October doesn't mean Goldwater's suddenly mellowing over Romney's presidential ambitions. Contacted by telephone, Goldwater told the Associated Press last week that he had definitely "not forgiven Gov. Romney for neglecting me in my campaign and I don't know whether I ever can."

● Former Vice President **Richard Nixon**, it is believed, will soon take public issue with Defense Secretary Robert McNamara on the need for the deployment of an anti-ballastic missile system. Nixon, it is said, thinks McNamara's refusal to match the Soviet program lays the United States open to both Soviet and Red Chinese threats of nuclear blackmail.

● The **Democratic National Committee** moves further left. It has added as deputy chairman for research and publications William G. Phillips, formerly associated with the Democratic Study Group, a collection of far-left House Democrats.

● Led by Rep. **F. Edward Hebert** (D.-La.), conservative Democrats in the House are studying plans to set up a rival organization to the semi-secret Democratic Study Group. As Human Events pointed out in the Nov. 5, 1966, issue, the DSG has been the driving force behind the passage of much of the liberal legislation that has whipped through Congress in recent years.

● "Black Power" advocate **Stokely Carmichael** has been quoted as saying that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is no longer non-violent. "I tried it [non-violence] for five years," he said, "and now he [a policeman] is no longer going to beat his humanity into my head. If he touches me, I'm going to kill him." Topping off his little speech to some 7,000 students, professors and members of Berkeley's "hippy" set, Carmichael said: "To hell with America." It is "racist from top to bottom, from left to right."

● The LBJ Administration continues to crack down on the business community when it decides to raise prices in accord with the law of supply and demand. Because **oil companies** have hiked their prices, meaning, perhaps, a one-cent-a-gallon increase in the price of gasoline, the Interior Department is threatening them with a broad array of weapons, including early and steep raises in oil import quotas, to force them to rescind the price increases.

● **University of Illinois** trustees have voted 6 to 3 to recognize an Urbana student organization of the W.E.B. DuBois Club which, at the national level, has been termed a Communist front group by the United States attorney general's office.

● LBJ may be coming up with a new **"share-the-wealth" scheme**. According to inside reports, LBJ will oppose legislation sponsored by 48 senators granting tax credits for college expenses and instead come up with a plan that would permit students to finance their education by borrowing government money and then repay it with extra income taxes on earnings during the course of their working lives. The sticky feature in the idea: The amount of money students would repay the government would vary according to how much they earned after completing college. Recipients who became well off might even have to repay considerably more than they received to finance their education.

● Ultra-liberal Sen. **Ralph Yarborough** (D.-Tex.) may seek the Texas governorship in 1968. Yarborough, who would not have to relinquish his Senate seat for the race, would challenge his bitter intra-party enemy, moderate conservative John Connally in the Democratic primary. If victorious, Yarborough could then deliver convention votes to Bobby Kennedy, a fact of political life of which LBJ is very much aware.

● British free lance writer **Henry Fairlie**, who broke the story of how the Kennedy family seduced Harvard into setting up the John F. Kennedy School of Government and its Institute of Politics as a Bobby Kennedy brain trust (see Human Events, Feb. 11, 1967, page 12), has infuriated Ambassador-at-Large W. Averell Harriman, who is also chairman of the institute's advisory committee. At a recent Washington cocktail party, Harriman told Fairlie he would "no longer be welcome in my home or my office." Replied Fairlie to the flustered Ave: "Thank you very much, sir."

● Retired Gen. **James M. Gavin**, once high in the councils of the Kennedy Administration, proved last week why it's wise that he's in retirement. Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Gavin called for a halt in the U.S. bombing of North Viet Nam "without any stipulation" of what the Reds would do in return, said a "neutral Viet Nam would be a very good thing," urged a negotiated reduction of U.S. forces in NATO and stepped up domestic programs to aid the underprivileged in the United States.

● Bishop **James A. Pike**, now with the left-wing Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, is coming under fire for recent remarks made on the Gettysburg College campus in Pennsylvania. Pike not only said that, "What's holding us up [on peace negotiations in Viet Nam] is that Johnson is not willing to negotiate," but declared that "as a last resort" to stop the war he would advocate "conscientious objection on a mass basis."

● Taiwan Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs **Samson Shen** says the likelihood of the Nationalists returning to the mainland "is better now than at any time since we came to Taiwan 17 years ago."

● The highly reliable Fire and Police Research Association of Los Angeles reports that Ronald Reagan's plan for a tuition charge for California colleges brought an unusual amount of similar mail to the California governor's office. The association reports that Reagan received no less than 822 **identical protest letters** stamped by a postage meter assigned to San Fernando State College.

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Write Dirksen!

"The key to the consular treaty is Sen. Everett Dirksen." That's the conclusion of political reporters as the Senate ponders this vital matter affecting East-West relations. The treaty, which would encourage Soviet spying and American-Soviet trade, needs a two-thirds majority for adoption, and Dirksen, the GOP minority leader, is considered the one man who could definitely block its passage.

DIRKSEN

"If Ev opposes it," said one conservative senator, "it has little chance of passing."

Originally an opponent of the treaty, Dirksen has begun to waver visibly after intensive lobbying by the State Department, liberal Republicans and even the Soviet Embassy.

The GOP leader's vacillation on this crucial issue has deeply disappointed his rank-and-file supporters and irritated some of his fellow senators. Dirksen, they recall, issued a sharp blast at the Administration for appeasing the Soviets in the Republican "State of the Union" address, but now he seems to be willing to go along with such measures himself.

Since Dirksen still has an open mind on the treaty, however, *Human Events* readers are urged to bombard the Illinois lawmaker with mail urging him to cast his vote against the consular treaty. The pact is supposed to come up for voting in March, so the time to write Dirksen (and other senators) is now.

• Unlike Dirksen, Sen. Roman Hruska (R.-Neb.), a member of the Judiciary's Internal Security subcommittee, is fully aware of the clear implications of the accord. Talking to his colleagues last week, Hruska said the consular convention was no "small matter" designed solely for the protection of U.S. citizens travelling in the Soviet Union.

"In reality," warned the Nebraskan, "the Administration considers this measure to be linked with other 'bridge building' proposals which are to be submitted to the Senate and the House on a piecemeal basis.

"When taken together, the measures which the Administration will submit to Congress will add up to a package which will have a tremendous impact on our over-all foreign policy. The Consular Convention represents only the first small step which appears, on the surface, to be of small importance. But the next steps—which include the proposed treaty banning the military uses of outer space and, most important, the East-West trade bill, as well as others—when combined with the Consular Convention, are measures which are going to affect the basic philosophy of our relations with the Communist countries. . . ."

"Most of all," stressed Hruska, "the Senate and the House should not be stampeded into approving individual measures which add up to a final result which will constitute a radical departure from our present foreign policy."

• Richard V. Allen, a senior staff member at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford, has also pierced some of the myths the liberals have woven about the treaty.

In a statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Allen said: "At a time when we are confronted with a direct military challenge of Communist origin in Southeast Asia, the Senate is asked to give its approval to agreements negotiated with the principal patron and ally of the source of that challenge. It is not surprising that substantial public opposition to the measure has surfaced. . . ."

The treaty is supposed to afford protection to nearly 18,000 Americans who travel to the Soviet Union yearly. But how much protection will it provide? Some people, said Allen, are apparently suffering from the delusion that the treaty's protocol defining the rights of access to arrested nationals also provides for their *release* within the same time period. Declared Allen: "This is not the case at all. The convention stipulates only that consular officials will have access to a detained national within two to four days of the arrest or detention and that access to the detained national 'shall be accorded on a continuing basis.'

"It is worth pointing out that the provision for access 'on a continuing basis' is in itself defective, because the wording is not clear. What does 'continuing basis' mean? Once a day, once a week, once a month?"

Referring to all the charges of espionage and other crimes that the Soviets have trumped up over the years, Allen stressed the treaty's provision would "certainly not, in my judgment, serve as a deterrent to arrests by the Soviet police and security agencies."

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

Reuther Aids Reds

A top official of the AFL-CIO has accused Walter and Victor Reuther of using the interest from the United Auto Workers' multi-million-dollar strike fund to bankroll Communists and pro-Communists abroad.

Jay Lovestone, the AFL-CIO's international affairs director, made the charge when questioned about possible links between the labor federation and the CIA. Lovestone said that the AFL-CIO had never taken funds from the CIA and denied that the agency had a say in the federation's overseas affairs.

But, he said, the Reuther brothers have made UAW grants to such Communist-liners as Ahmed Ben Bella, deposed Algerian revolutionary, and Kwame Nkrumah, the ousted Lenin Prize-winning Ghanaian dictator.

Lovestone said that the UAW had also made a $20,000 gift to a Communist-controlled labor organization in Nigeria.

The money disbursed abroad was taken from the UAW strike fund illegally, Lovestone charged, and the practice was stopped only after objections were raised by the union's rank and file.

Disarmament Warning

A high-ranking member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has warned that the negotiations in Geneva, Switzerland, on a nuclear proliferation treaty are part and parcel of the Administration's systematic attempt to disarm the United States.

Rep. Craig Hosmer, who has access to classified government records as a result of his position with the committee, launched this sensational charge last week, declaring that the Johnson Administration has drafted and is ready to negotiate not only a non-proliferation treaty, but a treaty to halt production of fissionable materials for nuclear weapons, a treaty to stop us from building nuclear delivery systems, including anti-missile defenses, a treaty to remove fissionable materials from existing warheads and, in fact, a general disarmament treaty.

HOSMER

So concerned was Hosmer that he warned: "Unless the American people really believe with Johnson and his advisers that disarmament is better protection than a well-equipped Army, Navy and Air Force, they had better wake up soon, before the point of no return is passed.

"The nation's disarmers have worked subtly and silently to prevent this awakening. They want to get us beyond that without public protest. They know that an aroused public will thwart their schemes."

The disarmers, charged Hosmer, are not only intent upon pulling our nuclear punch, but have quickly set about disposing of any enforcing mechanisms in these treaties.

First, he said, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency instituted studies calculated to prove that positive detection of cheating on a treaty is not really necessary; recently the Administration concluded a so-called Treaty on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space which now lies before the Senate. Said Hosmer: "No mechanisms whatever are contained in this treaty to police the promises of the Soviet Union or any other signatory to refrain from orbiting megaton nuclear monsters."

The disarmers, Hosmer insisted, figure space is such a nebulous subject that they can get away with ratification without large public protest. If they do, he said, the verification principle will be fairly well disposed of.

The non-proliferation treaty now being negotiated in Geneva, Hosmer added, is also "wholly without verification mechanisms.

"Getting it across will finish the job of junking the principle of refusing to sign unenforceable treaties. It will clear the tracks for writing every disarmer's dream into some treaty or other, substituting promises for might as the means to insure national survival."

Romney's Foreign Policy

In a Midwest swing to round up presidential support, Gov. George Romney of Michigan again revealed a shallowness that is worrying even his supporters.

In Pocatello, Idaho, on February 21, the Michigan governor charged that a resort to "political expediency" by the Johnson Administration had got the nation into trouble in Viet Nam and elsewhere at home and abroad. Astoundingly, when reporters began to ask for specifics, Romney refused to answer and the following colloquy ensued:

"Can you give us an example of what you mean?" a reporter asked.

"No, I will not," Romney replied.

"Why?" asked the reporter.

"Because I choose not to."

"Are you just going to make a charge like that and not substantiate it at all?" the reporter persisted.

"For the moment, yes," Romney replied.

The reporters threw up their hands in amazement over this incredible Romney performance.

• Gov. Romney's dove-like stance on Viet Nam has won huzzahs from the Kremlin. A recent Tass dispatch waxed enthusiastic over the Michigan governor's foreign policy ideas:

"Although the 'old guard' of the U.S. Republican party—including men like former Vice President Nixon and Senate Republican leader Everett Dirksen—vociferously support the war in Viet Nam and even at times advocate greater escalation, newer voices in the Republican party advocate a saner course for the United States and steps toward ending that 'dirty war.'

"Michigan's Republican Gov. George Romney, who is widely regarded as a serious contender for the Republican presidential nomination in 1968, denounces escalation of the war. In a speech in Louisville, Ky., Romney said that while developing the

• *Is Rep. Claude Pepper (D.-Fla.), of all people, moving to the right? The long-time ultra-liberal was picked to serve on the House special committee investigating Adam Clayton Powell, yet it has been Pepper who has shouted the loudest for the Harlem playboy's ouster from Congress. The reason, however, is not hard to find, according to Florida politicos. Pepper wants to go back to the Senate when George Smathers retires next year. A strong anti-Powell stance would sit well with Florida voters. But these politicos feel Pepper's liberalism would make a comeback difficult in any case, since conservative GOP Rep. Edward J. Gurney is thought to have the best chance of winning the Senate seat.*

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underlying framework for a new generation of foreign policy, the United States 'must place primary emphasis on brotherhood rather than on guns.' "

New Busing Plan

Picking up from where it left off last year, the federal government is continuing to call for the destruction of neighborhood schools in order to create some bureaucratic ideal of "racial balance" throughout the primary and secondary public school systems of the United States.

The presidentially appointed U.S. Civil Rights Commission unveiled the newest racial balancer proposal last week when it urged Congress to enact a law insuring that no public school in the nation has an enrollment that is more than 50 per cent Negro.

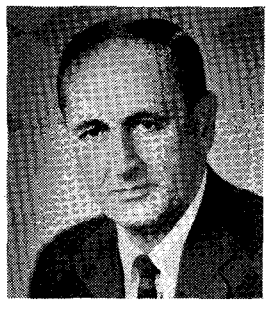
In Washington and many other big cities, this would require the wholesale busing of Negro and white pupils between the city and the suburbs. In nearly all cities, it would call for major changes in school attendance patterns.

The nearly $1-million study also advocates that legislation be accompanied by major infusions of federal funds into educational parks which could house up to 20,000 students from a wide racial mix.

Rejecting the idea of having increased attention and budgets given to the slum schools, the study bases its plan on the "finding" that Negro children "suffer serious harm when they are educated in racially segregated public schools" regardless of the cause of segregation.

Conservatives are reacting sharply against this proposal—and not just because it would compel an end to neighborhood schools. The proposal is also repellent because of its unstated but fundamental assumption that Negroes are inferior and cannot hope to learn unless they are in schools that are at least 50 per cent white.

The proposal by the commission is getting a good push from the federal bureaucracy. Health, Education and Welfare Secretary John W. Gardner appeared on the edge of endorsing the plan in its entirety last week.



GARDNER

U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe is also said to be in favor of it. Howe, as *Human Events* has frequently pointed out, has plumped for similar measures in the past. Last year (see *Human Events,* Sept. 24, 1966, page 3), Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.) unearthed in Howe's bailiwick a proposed "Equal Opportunity Act of 1967" which called for drastic measures to achieve racial balance in the schools.

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission plan again reveals the unbounded zeal of the federal planners to force their own views on the nation.

Liberals Boycott YRs

While liberal and "moderate" Republicans talk loudly of "unity" for 1968, the evidence suggests they joined hands in a major effort to boycott the Young Republican National Leadership Training School (LTS) recently held in Washington. Attended by 700 representatives of YR organizations from nearly all the states, the school is set up to organize GOP activity and to train younger people in the nuts and bolts of party organization.

Despite its largely non-ideological character, prominent party liberals conveniently ducked the gathering because they find the YRs—the future lifeblood of the GOP—much too conservative.

Among the invited who excused themselves: Romney, Brooke, Percy, Hatfield and Scott. Even desperate, last-minute appeals from National Chairman Ray Bliss failed to break up the intensive boycott, though Pennsylvania's Gov. Raymond Shafer did appear for a Saturday luncheon.

The YR gathering, however, was a success. The main speakers included Bliss, Gen. Curtis LeMay, newly elected Sen. Howard Baker (Tenn.), Sen. John G. Tower (Tex.), Rep. Donald E. (Buz) Lukens (Ohio), former Rep. Howard (Bo) Callaway of Georgia and former GOP presidential candidate Barry Goldwater (for more on Goldwater, see page 8).

Less dramatic but highly important were the LTS workshops dealing with various political fund-raising and public relations techniques. Among the experts at these sessions: columnist Ralph de Toledano; Americans for Constitutional Action President Gen. Thomas Lane (U.S.A. Ret.); Goldwater's pre-convention strategist, F. Clifton White, plus PR specialists Vic Gold and Lee Edwards.

• Though the Leadership Training School received high marks, some conservatives were disappointed in the decision by outgoing National Chairman Tom Van Sickle to block a YR resolution in opposition to the Consular Treaty. Ross Hermann, publicity chairman for the YRs and a former *Human Events* editor, introduced the resolution before a meeting of the YR executive committee at the close of the school.

After it was seconded, up popped Jim Day, the YRs' general counsel and a Van Sickle spokesman, to request that the resolution be tabled, partially on the grounds that it stated that "Senate Leader Everett M. Dirksen has opposed ratification. . . ," and Dirksen, it was argued, had shifted his stand. Hermann would have been willing to strike the Dirksen reference, but, following the Van Sickle-Day lead, the motion to strike was tabled 18 to 11. Hermann then demanded a rollcall vote, but Van Sickle ruled it out of order. The meeting was then adjourned.

Onlookers say most of the executive committee actually favored the essence of the anti-consular-pact resolution but that timidness over what some senior party members might think defeated it. The executive committee's action has already fueled the fires for a conservative caucus at the impending YR national convention in Omaha in June.

JFK: Victim of Castro?

The astonishing story emanating from New Orleans about a possible Cuban conspiracy in the Kennedy assassination could have some validity, say a number of experts on communism, but the watchword is still wait and see.

New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison, who has been thoroughly probing the case since Nov. 25, 1966, has said a conspiracy existed and bluntly predicted: "There will be, without a shadow of a doubt, convictions resulting from my charges." Sen. Russell Long (D.-La.), the majority whip, seems to think Garrison has evidence that would reveal that Oswald, Kennedy's assassin, hatched the murder plot with fellow conspirators in New Orleans. And, of course, there are the strange circumstances surrounding the death last week of David Ferrie, a former airlines pilot who Garrison maintains was "involved" in the events which culminated in Kennedy's death.

GARRISON

But doubts about the Garrison case have also been raised by reliable authorities. *Human Events'* contacts in New Orleans say that part of the Garrison case is based on the findings of a "criminal, an aggressive homosexual and a man who has been in one psychiatric ward after another." But these contacts, even those hostile to Garrison because of what they consider his flamboyance and intense political ambition, stress that the DA's positive statements cannot be discounted.

Authorities on Castro, moreover, have long believed the Cuban dictator could have been involved in the assassination plot. Oswald, of course, was a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, a pro-Castro outfit.

Castro himself was believed to have never forgiven President Kennedy because JFK had forced Castro to lose some face in the Cuban missile crisis. In addition, just two weeks before Kennedy's death, Castro was quoted by the Associated Press as accusing United States "leaders" of plotting his overthrow and darkly observing:

"We are prepared to fight them and answer in kind. United States leaders should think if they are aiding terrorists' plans to eliminate Cuban leaders, they cannot themselves be safe." Other evidence also points to a possible Cuban plot.

Thus the developments on the assassination plot are being watched with intense interest, albeit with a skeptical eye.

Is Percy a Hawk?

The current *National Review Bulletin* accuses *Human Events* of being "less than fair" to Sen. Charles Percy (R.-Ill.) in chastizing him for being one of two Americans to send greetings to *Moscow News,* a Soviet publication.

PERCY

NR acknowledges the unassailable fact that Percy sent the greetings, but implies the senator was taking the hard, anti-Communist line when he did so because, *NR* says, he used the occasion "to include a plea for the spread of individual freedom."

Want to examine this "plea"? Percy's entire message, sent on Dec. 19, 1966, in answer to an invitation from *Moscow News,* read: "All men fervently pray that the New Year can bring peace with honor so that the resources of all nations may be devoted to the betterment of mankind and the development of individual freedom."

Human Events regards this greeting as standard liberal talk—not a trumpet call for freedom. As our earlier item implied, we think the message was just a manifestation of Percy's belief the United States should court the Communists. Percy himself strongly implied the same motive when, in explaining the greeting to Mrs. Don Kiplinger of Oak Ridge, Tenn., he wrote:

"I extended my greetings to Russia because I believe communications between our nations to be essential.

"Receipt of greetings from Russia to us on appropriate occasions should also be welcomed, in my opinion. By the way, despite the recent story, I feel quite certain that far more than two Americans sent greetings." [He named no others.—Ed.]

This was his full explanation. It does not contain a trace of evidence that Percy dispatched his Moscow message because he hoped to spark a flame of freedom inside the Soviet Union.

The word "freedom" or its equivalent is not even mentioned here. Indeed, as we suggested, Percy appears to think he can magically mellow the Soviets with an exchange of cozy greetings.

Subsequent to this explanation and the flak that he received from having dispatched his greetings, the senator wrote us a note in which he said that he saw the opportunity "to have published inside the Soviet Union a statement about the need for peace and the importance of individual freedom."

In this note he also revealed that he was not totally oblivious to Soviet belligerence when he wrote: "It is my strong feeling that the USSR could, if it would, dampen down Hanoi's intervention in South Viet Nam."

We, of course, share this "strong feeling" and only ask the senator why, since he believes this, he didn't tell it to the Soviets in his greeting rather than telling us in a letter? The answer, unfortunately, as Percy has amply demonstrated, is that he thinks gentle greetings and kind deeds turneth away Soviet wrath.

NR itself admits that Percy elsewhere "has not exactly flapped the hawkwing. He is on record as favoring unilateral U.S. extension of the cease-fire in Viet Nam, inclusion of Viet Cong in any new government of South Viet Nam ('I think you have to invite them into the government, into the civil service, and even into the ministry'), further trade with the Communist bloc, activation of the consular treaty with the USSR and an unconditional end to the bomb raids on North Viet Nam."

Our case rests.

Correction

• Human Events *regrets that on page 9 last week a paragraph was out of order in the Editor's Comment which followed the story on Gov. Claude Kirk's "War on Crime" in Florida. The paragraph in the last column beginning "Nevertheless, as Mrs. Carpenter" should have been the next to the last paragraph of the column.*

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'Negative Income Tax' Is Not a Tax

By LAWRENCE FERTIG

In the months—and perhaps years—ahead, you will be reading and hearing a lot about the "negative income tax." This is an idea originally suggested by Prof. Milton Friedman, now president of the American Economic Association.

The first thing to note is that the negative income tax is not a tax at all. It is really a subsidy granted to families whose incomes fall below a certain minimum—say $3,000 a year. It provides a guaranteed minimum income.

Friedman's idea has gained wide currency because the present method of supporting the poor is so clearly wasteful in many ways. As Prof. Tobin of Yale has stated, present relief payments "provide exactly the wrong incentives to many of their beneficiaries, not to work, not to save, and even not to live in families."

Living on relief has unfortunately become a way of life to some women who receive *extra* payments for illegitimate children. Also, receiving relief is often more profitable to some recipients than working at a minimum wage and paying taxes. Thus the more prosperous the country becomes, the more unemployment goes down and the higher the employment and wage rates mount, the more colossal become federal and local relief payments.

Here is a record of relief payments in the past six years: In fiscal year 1962, $3.8 billion; in 1964, $4.5 billion; in 1966, $6.1 billion. Something must be wrong when relief payments spurt upwards as prosperity increases.

Friedman's idea is akin to others based upon the principle of income without work—income as a matter of right. He differs in one respect: he would encourage work by permitting the low-income earner who receives a subsidy to profit from gainful employment. Friedman is a great believer in the free market. Establish a minimum income, he says, and then let people do what they will with the cash they get from the government or earnings. Get rid of the entire apparatus of relief.

But note this very important point: Friedman would substitute his program *in place of* all present subsidy programs, including, in his own words, "public housing, urban renewal, old age and unemployment insurance, job training, farm price supports and so on at incredible length."

Just to state his plan shows how impractical it is. Is there a chance in the world that all present subsidy programs would be abandoned by a politically minded Congress? As a matter of fact, Friedman's cash subsidy to the poor would simply be added to all present welfare programs. This would be piling Ossa on Pelion—piling still more subsidies on top of present "welfare" programs.

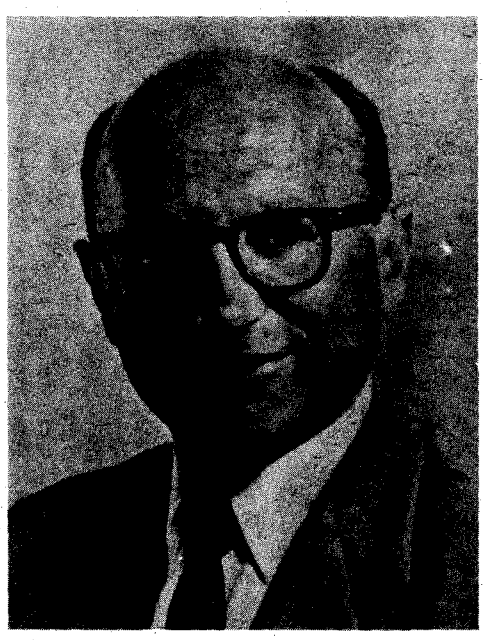
Friedman himself suspects that this is true and is willing to accept it. He says "Many proponents of the negative income tax have favored simply adding it to existing programs. . . . The political reality may be that the [welfare] programs would be expanded in one way or another. If so, far better that it be in this way."

Many of Friedman's conservative friends and followers strongly disagree with him in this conclusion. They assert that a more practical approach is essential to meet the problem of mounting relief payments, which are a contributing cause to present federal deficits and inflation.

Inflation and high taxes are breaking the back of middle-class America—the families presently earning $6,000 to $15,000 annually. Theirs are the taxes which mainly pay for government spending.

A more practical approach would be to enforce stricter standards to eliminate malingering—while providing generous treatment for the truly poor (those who are incapacitated or unable for good reason to enter the mainstream of economic life).

It would adopt some of Gov. Reagan's philosophy—requiring work by relief recipients on state and local projects, if they are able to work. It would reject the recently adopted New York City plan which grants financial relief on application, without checkup and without test of any kind. Admittedly, New York City's expenditure for relief—which is now approaching the $700-million mark annually—is growing at a tremendous rate. California's relief spending will probably be brought under control.



Differing from many who have championed his plan, Prof. Milton Friedman would substitute his "negative tax" for all existing subsidy programs.

What we need is not laws to pay people out of the public treasury for not working. We need stricter controls on relief payments, especially by the federal government.

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Rent Supplements Fall Flat

Robert Weaver's assurances of 'substantial demand for program' fail to materialize

From the Allen-Scott Report

The "Great Society's" rent supplement program is turning out to be about as productive as a dry creek.

With little more than four months remaining of this fiscal year, only around $160,000 of the $2 million voted by Congress for rent supplements has actually been allocated by the Federal Housing Administration. That's less than 10 per cent.

And of the $32 million Congress authorized the FHA to enter into contracts covering other aspects of this controversial program, only about one-third—$10.381 million—has been earmarked for possible projects. Whether funds for such contracts will be voted by this Congress is highly conjectural.

The odds are strongly against it.

This is the unpublicized record of a program that President Johnson, in vigorously pressing it on Congress, effusively hailed as "the most crucial new instrument in our effort to improve American cities." Similarly, Sen. John Pastore (D.-R.I.), who led the Administration's floor fight for the legislation, acclaimed it as "one of the best programs ever conceived to fight poverty in this nation."

Neither has said anything about the way this extravagantly touted "Great Society" panacea is lagging.

To date, rent supplements have been received by tenants in only two cities—Lorain and Oberlin, Ohio. Such payments are slated to start this month for some 25 tenants in the newly constructed Central Towers project in St. Paul, Minn., and in the first of two tenements being rehabilitated in Cleveland's Hough area, scene of racial riots last summer.

In addition, FHA has signed contracts for supplements for low-cost housing projects in Roxbury, Mass., and Providence, R.I.

Robert Weaver, head of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Total committed outlay—$158,108 out of $2 million voted by Congress.

Last year Robert Weaver, head of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, solemnly assured Congress, "The evidence is clear that there is substantial demand for this program." The irrefutable evidence is exactly to the contrary.

This also is true of what has happened with the $32 million in contractual authority given the Federal Housing Administration by Congress as part of the rent supplement program.

With this authority, FHA can insure the mortgage of a rent supplement project. If the sponsor is a non-profit organization, the entire mortgage can be insured. The primary purpose is to induce private enterprise and non-profit organizations to go into low-cost public housing.

The government insures the mortgage and assures the owner that a good portion of the rent will be paid. Supplements range from 10 to 70 per cent of the rent, depending on family income. For families of four they run from $3,000 in the South to $5,760 in New York City.

FHA records show only tepid interest in seeking allocation for this purpose.

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Economist Gardner Ackley makes a point as fellow members of the President's Council of Economic Advisers look on. From left, James Duesenberry, Ackley and Arthur Okum.

White House Staff vs. Cabinet

Who Has President's Ear?

By RAYMOND MOLEY

A businessman whose company serves the Washington government in many ways commented the other day that he could learn more about the President's views on fiscal policy from Chairman Ackley of the Council of Economic Advisers than from all the Cabinet members combined.

In December a business-oriented association secured Treasury Secretary Henry H. Fowler as a featured speaker. But many of those who heard him were disappointed because his remarks conveyed very little information about the present and future course of fiscal policy.

The secretary either could not or would not define Administration policy. If he knew what LBJ was planning, he was bound to secrecy. If he did not know, it was because he was not told. And even if he knew the President's plans at the time he delivered the address, he was afraid the plans would be changed.

In most of the other decisions of federal policy the negative role of Cabinet members is apparent. It is true that Defense Secretary Robert McNamara and the President work closely together. And despite the defense secretary's frightening changes in his estimates about the war in Viet Nam, he still seems to enjoy the confidence of the commander in chief.

All though history the influence of the Cabinet as a presidential advisory body has depended largely upon the character and disposition of the President. Some Presidents have deliberately chosen weak and mediocre Cabinet members because they wanted to keep the reins of power in their own hands. The two Roosevelts offer an interesting contrast.

Teddy Roosevelt had in his Cabinet some of the most competent and powerful men of their time. One cannot imagine TR failing to solicit and heed the advice of John Hay, Elihu Root and William H. Taft. But FDR deliberately selected as members of his Cabinet people he could dominate or disregard.

President Eisenhower, on the other hand, secured the services of men like John Foster Dulles, George Humphrey, Charles Wilson, Robert Anderson and Neil McElroy because he respected and was willing to follow their judgment.

But since 1961 a quite new order of presidential advisers has emerged. These have been men who were directly attached to the White House and were housed therein. There is little question that McGeorge Bundy as a presidential assistant exercised more influence over President Kennedy than did Dean Rusk as secretary of state. While Arthur Schlesinger Jr. in his book after the President's death violated the proprieties and ill served the public interest by telling of Mr. Kennedy's limited admiration for and confidence in Rusk, there can be little doubt about his truthfulness.

During the Kennedy presidency, in fact, the White House premises were littered with presidential advisers who had more to do with shaping policy than the Cabinet. And this condition has prevailed under President Johnson.

There are two reasons for this new order in policy-making.

One is propinquity. The White House staff is almost literally under the President's nose. Policy is not made at set times and in appointed and publicized meetings. It is in the making every working minute of every day.

These people see and talk with the President many more times than any Cabinet member. They know the working of his mind and choose the most effective moment to influence his judgment. They know when he is confused and undecided and thrust forward plausible solutions at such moments of decision. They seek no credit for such decisions. The President takes the credit or blame, as the case may be.

Another factor in the decline of the Cabinet as an advisory body is the preoccupation of the members with their immense administrative duties. All or most of their departments have grown almost beyond recognition in the past 15 or 20 years. Some have grown almost beyond control.

The problems and dissentions among bureau chiefs demand the time of the department head. The department head and Cabinet member has little time left to think about national policies beyond his own bailiwick. And even with what little he can contribute in advice to the President, he can see him only occasionally beyond the Cabinet meetings.

In recent years Cabinet meetings are attended by several more people than the traditional department heads. As the number that gathers around the great table grows, there is less and less chance for serious weighing of general policies.

This shift of policy-making from the Cabinet to the President and his White House staff is one of the most important facts in our national life.

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Conservation Can Go Too Far

Why Destroy Whaling and Redwood Industries?

From the Richmond *News Leader*

With the exception of man himself, it might be argued poetically if not plausibly that the two most special creations in the order of nature are whales and redwood trees. At any rate, this is a difficult season for both.

The plight of the whales of the deeps has been personified recently by the dispatches concerning Moby Joe, an 80-foot whale that became entrapped in a salt water pond on the coast of Newfoundland. Moby would have had a very good chance of making it back to blue water except that the crazed inhabitants of the area commenced pumping rifle bullets into him, which produced killing infections. The last thing reported is that Moby weakened and lies dead on the bottom of the pond. A companion whale that had maintained a patrol offshore swam away to sea.

Throughout the world the whale is said to face extinction like the rock pigeon and Carolina parakeet. The whaling nations cannot get together on an enforceable hunting quota because of greed and distrust of one another and, second, the modern techniques of taking whales have become deadly effective beyond the dreams of Capt. Ahab.

To extinguish the whale species would be an uncommon sacrilege and, seemingly, a particular affront to the Creator. The whale is marvelously endowed with human qualities and, more than that, is the largest mammal God ever made. And finally, the whale is one thing unlikely to be surpassed no matter what else is found in outer space.

The redwood tree, like the whale, staggers the imagination. It would be a tree of phenomenal excellence and diverse usefulness even if it were no taller than a Georgia pine or a Virginia sycamore. But it grows to be hundreds of feet tall; just how tall is not easy to say because a redwood taller than the previous tallest is always being found.

Yet the height of the redwoods is not the foremost attribute, nor the one that must give it special place in the considerations of men. The attribute that mauls the imagination is that there are California redwoods waving their ferntops in the Pacific sky that were standing 2,500 years and more before the birth of Christ. That timelessness duly excites awe and reverence.

Naturally the redwood groves and their preservation have devoted partisans and they inspire national concern like the proposed monkeying with the Grand Canyon. And just as naturally the federal royalty in Washington wants to over-reach the continent and intervene as savior.

In short, the D.C. foresters may or may not be right in seeking to create a National Redwoods Park in California of 45,000 acres and in representing themselves as the only reliable shield against the lusts of saw timber barons. There are many challenging contentions.

The National Forest Products Association is, of course, a special interest: It represents California lumberers. However, that special interest does not disqualify its arguments against the sequestration of more California redwood woodland by the federals. If the NFPA's arguments cannot be felled, then the federal park cannot be justified. Perhaps the arguments can be felled.

The NFPA emphasizes that the federal government already owns 45 per cent of the total land area of California; state and local governments, 2.8 per cent. Nine million acres of government land are already set aside for recreation.

The NFPA adduces that the *Sequoia Gigantea* redwood grows along 500 miles of coastal land into Oregon and all such are already in national parks or on public land; they are not to be cut. Of the great *Sequoia Sempervirens,* 25 per cent are in California state parks.

Timber producers have 815,000 acres devoted to trees managed to reproduce themselves in the shortest possible time. It is brought out that, contrary to the general impression, a redwood can attain 90 per cent of its height in less than a hundred years. Redwoods are most determined growers and reseeding action commences almost as soon as they are cut.

"The rate and volume of redwood growth has been constantly on the increase for more than 100 years," the NFPA claims. It is submitted that total redwood regrowth will equal removal by 1975, and already does so among large commercial operators.

Most notable of all, however, is the statement the director of the National Park Service, Newton Drury, made 20 years ago:

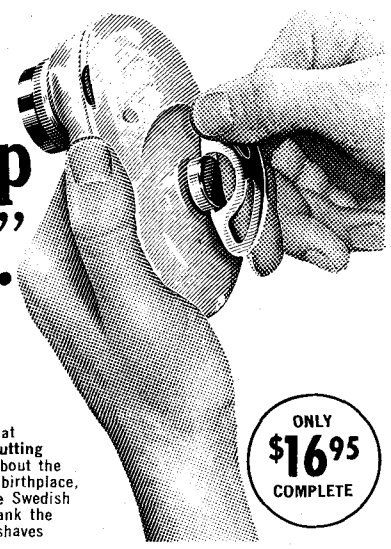
" . . . The fact is that the best and most representative of these [redwood] forests are now in the California state parks."

All such contentions should be answered; meanwhile, they suggest that the plight of the redwoods may have been exaggerated. Assuredly it is dogma with us that whales and redwoods must be preserved as wonders of the world, but this does not mean ruthless opposition to managed whaling and logging and the destruction of those industries.

□ □ □

U.S. AT WAR WITH USSR—The United States keeps pressing for accommodation with Moscow, but Soviet Russia is becoming the chief supplier of Viet Nam. *U.S. News & World Report* recently quoted a top American military officer as saying: "There no longer is any question about it—the Russians are at war with us in Viet Nam in a very real sense. . . . Most of the trucks that move the needed supplies . . . come from Russia or her satellites. Many of the automatic weapons that we capture from North Vietnamese troops are of Russian manufacture. Most of our plane losses have resulted from the use of Soviet Russia's anti-aircraft guns, missiles or MIG jet fighters."

"They laughed when I wound up my shaver..."



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Freedom: The Most Exciting of Man's Adventures

A promise of business-like socialism is no alternative to the 'Great Society'

By BARRY GOLDWATER

The following are excerpts from Barry Goldwater's remarks to the Young Republican National Leadership Training School in Washington, D.C., February 17, 1967:

We are here to learn about leadership, and I can't think of a more important subject in this country or this world tonight than leadership. Lord knows we need it. We need it all over this country; we need it all over this world. . . .

But I'll never forget the first time I tried to do a real job of work on a ranch out in Arizona. I really worked on it; I studied up and boned up on things like branding and roping and even horseshoeing, and I'll also never forget what the head "honcho" said after I'd been getting in everybody's way for a couple of days. "Son," he said, "you spend too damn much time learning how to do everything that you've clean forgot why you're here to do it."

Now the same thing can be said about politics. The same thing can happen in politics. Don't get me wrong, please. I think it's wonderful that you are learning so much about the nuts and bolts, as Ray [Bliss] calls it, the mechanics of politics, you have to know these things.

But let me remind you of why, as Republicans, it's important that you know such things. Let me remind you if I can of why we want to win, of why we are Republicans even when we don't win. This is merely the responsibility of the Republican party to offer alternatives.

Frankly, I think we've all done too much beating around the bush when it comes to the Republican alternative. It's no real alternative simply to say that we will do exactly what the Democrats do but do it cheaper; it's no real alternative to say that we will travel the same road as Democrats but travel it slower; it's no real alternative to say that Republicans will give you a bargain basement welfare state; and it's certainly no real alternative to say that Republicans will give you a business-like socialism.

Our alternative, young Republicans, as I see it, is leadership in freedom under our Constitution.

I may be old-fashioned, but I happen to think that this document is the greatest document of government that's ever been written in the history of man. And I don't happen to be simple enough to believe that just because we are approaching 200 million in population the basic values of that document are any different, or apply in any different way than they did to the limited population of the 13 Colonies.

For at the start, let me remind you if you do not like the Constitution, if Americans do not feel that we can accomplish what Americans feel we must accomplish, then we can change the Constitution. But also let me remind you that this responsibility is the responsibility of all the people, not just nine men.

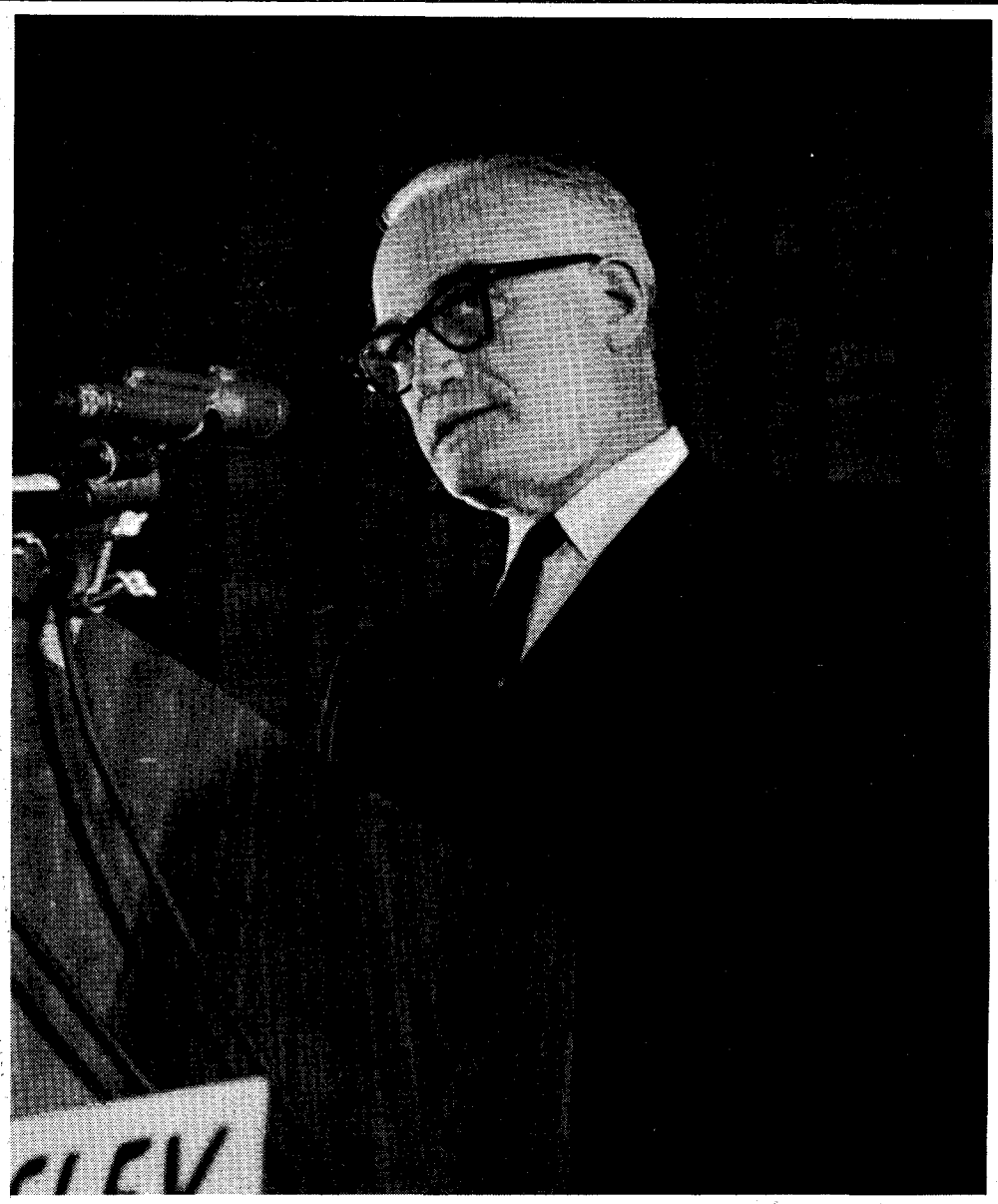
Let me explore a few areas in which I feel we are lacking in leadership. We need leadership to lead the way to victory in Viet Nam. We don't need another lost peace. We don't need members of our party aping members of the other party who say that if we cease bombing, we're going to get Hanoi to the bargaining table.

War Must Be Won

And let me tell you—I was there in January—that we are hurting the enemy. And the purpose of war, when we are forced into it—and we sort of backed into this one—is to end it as quickly and as cheaply to the enemy and ourselves as possible. Not to prolong it in the dim, baying-at-the-moon hope that something is going to happen. Bobby is going to go to Paris and, if he can see through that hair, he might see a prospect for peace. This isn't the way it happens, folks, it never has and it never will.

The Communists in Red China and North Viet Nam are out to take South Viet Nam, out to take all of Southeast Asia, and eventually Burma, Pakistan and India, so this war must be stopped; it must be won with honor; it cannot be lost with dishonor or won with dishonor.

I think we need leadership to close the credibility gap so that we don't hear false totals about how many helicopters we have lost, or how many tactical aircraft we lost. You tell the American people the truth and they're darn easy to get along with, but lie to them and oh, brother, they can be mean.



Barry Goldwater: "Freedom should be the creed of every man and woman who despises conformity, who rejects the regulation of his or her mind, who rebels against the bending of any man's body to the service of a plan or a program which he did not make and from which he derives no just return."

Barry Goldwater: "As these young men begin to come back [from Viet Nam] into our communities . . . they are going to cause a rebirth of patriotism in this country which is long, long overdue."

Then we've got a new gap, the sanity gap.

When I was on the Kitty Hawk, the intelligence officer showed me pictures they had taken 20 minutes after the last truce that was foolishly declared by us. Twenty minutes after it started, the trucks were bumper to bumper down the roads we kept the North Vietnamese off of in the daytime and night time during periods of war. We went through that, we experienced their dishonesty, we experienced their ignoring the truce, but we did it again, and this is a sanity gap.

We need leadership which can look—not to ancient history—but just back a few months and say it does no good to try to do business with people who cheat. The sanity gap must be closed and we must not again allow sanctuaries or holidays so that our enemies bring 25,000 tons of equipment down in four or five days to kill more American boys.

In other fields, we need leadership in the Republican party which will stand up wherever arrogant labor power is used against the best interests of the multitude of the American people. No Republican should ever allow a major American city to be closed down because of an arrogant labor leader. And when a Republican mayor or Republican governor is afraid to act, it is time they are called on the Republican carpet, because it reflects in every one of the 50 states.

Now the arrogance of power in union leadership is not widespread; I'd say that 95 per cent of our labor leaders respect the public, respect the public's rights, but even 5 per cent are too many, because long before the bargaining table, long before the rights of the workers, come the rights of the people who are denied transportation whether it be by bus, rail, or by air to their jobs so that they can continue to have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Inviolate Constitution

We need leadership as displayed by Everett Dirksen whenever he measures a legislative piece against the Constitution. Now, this is difficult to explain. I've been chastised severely by members of my own party, by members of other parties, for having voted in certain ways during my 12 years as senator. I put my hand on a Bible and I swore to uphold the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic. Now, I'm not the brightest guy that ever came into this town by a long, long ways, but I can read, and I think I know what that Constitution says. And it is not only my right, but my duty to vote as I interpret the Constitution. . . .

If we can't get at the solutions of certain social problems or economic problems in our country through the existing Constitution, then the only honorable, fair way to do it would be to amend it so that we could continue to live under the guidelines of a Constitution. Not live under a document that has been changed and changed and changed at the whim of a court or courts or at the whim of a legislative body

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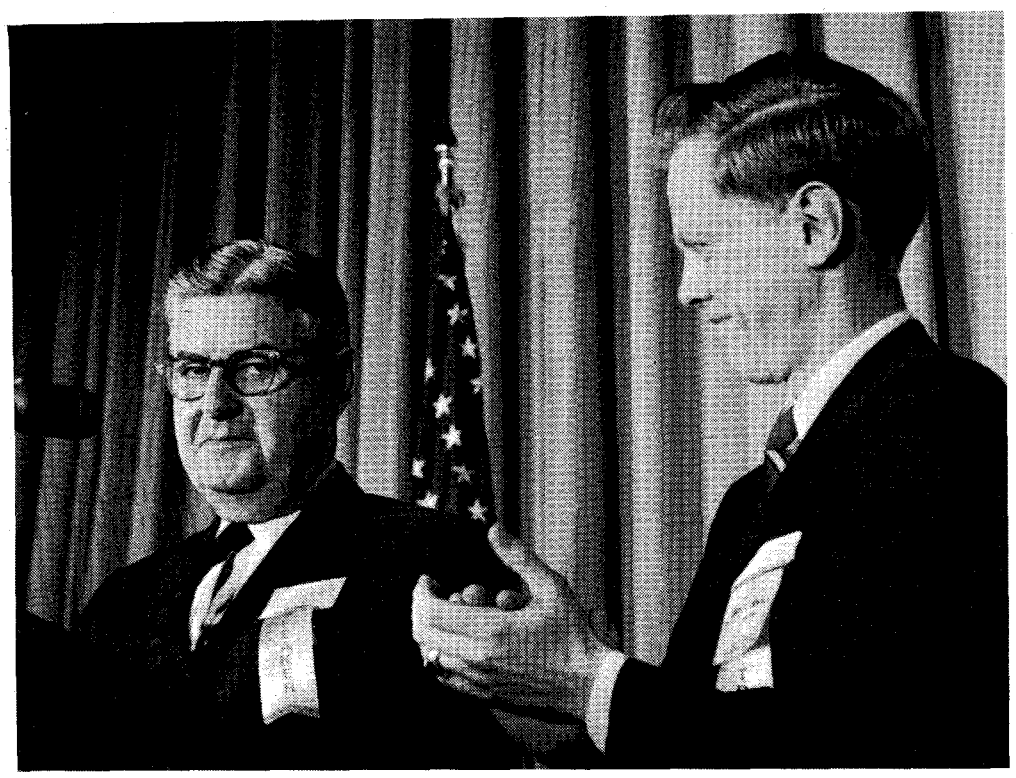

Gen. Curtis LeMay (left), whose ringing speech calling for victory in Viet Nam closed the conference, is congratulated by the National YR Treasurer, Jack McDonald of Tennessee.

without reference to the constitutional aspects of it.

We need leadership in America to tell us the truth about our money. Now we're getting into a field that I know is difficult to explain—not many bankers understand this field, believe it or not—but instead of leveling with the American people and telling us that the dollar is not in as good shape as we would like to have it we are given sugar-coated pills and told that things aren't so bad, we can survive.

Honesty on Social Security

We are told that our economy is in good shape, and I'd be the first to admit that most people have never had it so good, that profits are running high. But this morning in the paper we see some economists that I wouldn't call conservative exactly warning the American people that there are the seeds of depression abroad. This should be the job of our President to tell our people the state of money and the state of the economy, and level with the people, and not tell the people that he is going to spend more and more money but that he feels the belt has to be tightened, that there has to be reduction whether he likes it or we like it or not. And that in these certain areas, with a war going on in Viet Nam we must pull in the cinch and make sure the dollar doesn't run away, and that inflation doesn't infest this land.

We need some honesty, folks, about Social Security, and I caught holy hell about this once. We need a leader who is going to tell us—looking us right in the eye—what a 12 per cent bite out of the paycheck is going to mean.

Or what a 14, 15 or 16 per cent bite is going to mean to profits, to private funds, to insurance companies, to the whole team of Americans who have been responsible for paying for Social Security, which up until now has not been in too precarious a position. But now we are told by economists of the President's own panel that Social Security is not in the great shape we're led to believe it's in, that the money it has is out on loan, and that the general fund at the present time can't pay those loans. Now, what happens when the general fund owes more money and can't pay more money? These are things we want to know.

I've talked about Viet Nam and the need for honesty there, so I won't repeat it. We need a leader and leadership who will lead our party in spite of the taunts from the radical left. We have too long been kept from the discussion of such basic issues by alarmists who immediately cry that this means that the Republicans would abandon every government function, that we would disband the Army and the Navy and close down the Post Office. I think they must have closed it down someplace.

We can't let these charges scare us any longer. Republicans clearly recognize the role of government in keeping law and order (and the President finally has), in foreign policy, in the courts, in relations between the states, but we Republicans also recognize just as clearly government's role above everything else to protect freedom and that this includes freedom from oppressive government itself.

And if you don't mind my harkening back to an old, old speech—the first one I made in my campaign—in a free society, the armed forces would be manned by volunteers paid an honest market wage to get them and then to keep them.

Freedom Is Alternative

We would not in a free society see the futile spectacle of an Administration using a compulsory military service or a draft to bludgeon unwilling men into service or to lure them into social training programs. Let me remind you that in a free society that if anyone came up with a way to get letters to you more effectively than the Post Office Department, more power to him.

So the Republican alternative to all this centralized government Socialist direction that we've been under for too long is a simple one: It is freedom. And in this we can compete in many ways. Republicans would substitute jobs for handouts; Republicans would substitute privacy for government looking and listening; Republicans would substitute difference and diversity for the gray sameness of federal standards handcuffed to federal subsidies; Republicans would substitute the endless opportunities of freedom for the endless treadmill of promises and programs; and Republicans would substitute the security of self-interest for the quicksand of public opinion.

What Republicans Would Do

Republicans would never ask a man's color, they would only ask a man's capacity. Republicans would never, by the same token, say that the freedom of some must be won by restricting the freedom of others. Republicans would base prosperity on productivity, not on politics and political ambition. Republicans would reward creativity, energy, enterprise and genius; we would not punish them or put them in the service of incompetence, laziness, or shiftlessness. Republicans reject absolutely the Socialist creed of "from everyone according to their ability and to everyone according to their need."

Freedom should be the creed of every man and woman who despises conformity, who rejects the regulation of his or her mind, who rebels against the bending of any man's body to the service of a plan or a program which he did not make and from which he derives no just return.

Freedom is the most exciting of man's adventures. It broke the bondage of centuries of slavery. It has liberated more minds and more men than all the politicians of history. It has produced more knowledge, more material well being, more opportunity for the soaring of man's spirit than all the ivory tower theories in history.

Let's face it, the doctrines of the "Great Society" are not new. They failed in Babylon; they failed in Egypt; they failed in Greece; they failed in Rome; they are failing in the United States. Yes, some of the very liberals who a year ago, two years ago, 10 years ago espoused every utterance of a liberal are now in honesty coming out and saying, "They are not working."

So we have an alternative. It's not a set of blueprints, blueprints for the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the Square Deal, the New Society, the "Great Society;" it's an old one, it's freedom. Freedom as we've known it; freedom as our fathers knew it; our forefathers. The freedom that our forefathers came to these shores to establish and there's nothing different today. We haven't changed man's nature one bit. We have spent billions and billions and billions of dollars and all we've done is create a bigger welfare state in this country.

Another speaker at the Leadership Training School, freshman Rep. Donald E. (Buz) Lukens (R.-Ohio), is shown with the National Coordinator of Teen-Age Republicans, Barbara Wells, left, and TAR assistant, Holly K. Lambro.

Forgotten Youth

Now don't get me wrong, because I can see already some of the pundits saying that Goldwater suggests that the federal government get out of everything. We couldn't do it if we wanted to. But we can see to it in our doctrine of freedom that people aren't pestered to death when they get their Social Security checks, that they don't get letters from the President indicating that he is paying them out of the profits of the television station in Texas.

You, the creative and productive young people of America, are the forgotten men and women of our time. You live under programs and plans that are quite happy to exploit you but never respect you. You live under a political rule that takes its money right out of your hide, then tries to make you feel guilty for not giving up the rest. But you are members of a political party that has a real good out—honest, workable, proven, vastly constructive—and we offer it as an alternative. It's freedom.

The question I think before our party tonight, and the question that will rest before our party for the next 18 months, will be just this:

Are we, as Republicans, willing to work for it, despite setbacks and losses until you can win for it? But win, lose, or draw, there is no other fit way for men to live so far as I am concerned. This is to my mind the highest leadership that the Republican party can give the nation, the world and the future of man.

Dangers of Communism

And please think about this. I'm not speaking about sticking to outmoded doctrines, I'm not speaking about sticking to platforms that never were sold to the American people; I am speaking about building an America on freedom, about helping to get America away from the binding slavery of a Socialist economy. I'm talking about the Republican party pledging itself to either the reconstruction of the Constitution if we don't believe it's proper, or the adherence to the Constitution if we believe it's proper.

This is going to take courage. Let me tell you I know it's going to take courage.

I spent a good many years of my life preaching this to the American people. I think it's beginning to take hold. I think it's beginning to take hold in the minds of young people. And in closing, speaking of young people, the biggest, most decent, most wonderful impression that I left Viet Nam with was this: that our young men over there know why they are there, they know why they are fighting, they are not griping like young men used to do in war.

They see the dangers of communism, the dirty rottenness of communism as they fight through the rice paddies and the swamps, and I make this prophecy: As these young men begin to come back into our communities, our villages, our towns and our cities they are going to cause a rebirth of patriotism in this country which is long, long overdue.

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Here We Go Again on Love Affair With Russia

By MORRIE RYSKIND

The portents are clear—even if you read only the headlines: "President Asks More East-West Trade," and "Consular Treaty Heralds End of Cold War."

So hang on to your hats, everybody. Here we go again on a psychedelic trip headed for the beauteous vistas of the Never-Never Land. But, whether we go under the influence of LBJ or LSD, history shows it's a sad awakening as we grope our way back to reality.

In its way, this *grande passion* of the naive American liberal for the Marxian siren has all the components of classical tragedy—or, perhaps more accurately, tragi-comedy. For our strabismic Romeo has fallen in love not with the virginal Juliet, but with Jezebel, the town strumpet, whom he has blindly endowed with Juliet's attributes.

She has betrayed him a thousand times over since their first mutual protestations of eternal faithfulness, but she still sports his ring. Even when he's caught her *in flagrante delicto,* he has been unwilling to accept the irrefutable evidence and has stoutly proclaimed her innocence.

True, there have been moments when even his incredible trust has been shaken and he has heartbrokenly realized that the lady was a tramp. But never for long. Let her but stretch her hand out, and he is in her arms again, asking forgiveness for ever having doubted her virtue and vowing vengeance on the dastardly right-wing Red-baiters who would sully her good name. Romeo—hell! Patsy is more like it.

So here we go again—as we have been doing for some 35 years, not one bit the wiser. I do not fault FDR for his recognition of Soviet Russia when it was still an unknown quantity. All our liberals who went a-visiting were sending back glowing tributes like "I have seen the future, and it works." And, for all we knew, maybe they had something.

But one of the explicit terms in the treaty of recognition was that Russia promised faithfully to engage in no Communist propaganda on our shores. That pledge was violated within a few months and Mr. Roosevelt, had he kept his eye on the ball, would have been justified in booting the Russian ambassador out. And what a difference that would have made!

But FDR was looking the other way. And the Reds, using Amtorg—their alleged "trading company"—as a cover, began organizing the nucleus of what eventually blossomed into an operation of a hundred different fronts aimed at infiltrating into almost every sector of American society—and penetrating even the government itself. With, the record shows clearly, considerable success.

The rest is a veritable Walt Whitman catalogue, too long to detail here, of Russian misdeeds. But we all recall the rape of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, though that is no longer considered good form to mention; the war against Finland; the Hitler pact, which the Reds dismissed with "Fascism is only a matter of taste." And the Soviet-Hitler invasion of Poland.

And then came the Russian-German split, and all was forgotten and forgiven as Russia became our gallant ally. She defeated Germany single-handed, her histories say, and she whipped Japan in three days. Probably could have done it in two days if MacArthur had only kept his hands off.

Such heroic efforts beyond the call of duty deserved reward, so we gave Russia three votes in the United Nations to our one.

And there was Korea, in which Russia's aid went to North Korea, which the U.N. forces opposed; and there was Hungary—and the whole world gasped.

And this very day American boys are being shot down by planes and ammunition that come from the Kremlin and its satellites.

But the siren is singing her song again, and let us remember that girls will be girls. So let's have a *detente* and we'll all live happily ever after. So bring on the consuls—and whoopee for trade!

But hang on to your hats.

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SEN. ERNEST GRUENING (D.-Alaska) charged recently that approximately 20 per cent of the U.S. foreign aid shipments to Viet Nam were stolen or "diverted" in that country last year. Gruening, chairman of a Senate subcommittee on foreign aid, estimated the over-all losses in economic aid at $91 million, but noted that other sources had put the figure as high as 50 per cent, or more than $200 million. The liberal Alaska solon scoffed at claims by the Agency for International Development that losses amounted to only 5 to 6 per cent.

TWO VITAL BOOKS TELLING THE TRUTH ABOUT SOUTHERN AFRICA

The American-Southern Africa Council proudly presents two outstanding new books on Rhodesia and South Africa which reveal the hypocrisy of the United Nations and the Johnson Administration's Africa policy.

THE BATTLE FOR RHODESIA

By Douglas Reed

Written in Rhodesia by the renowned British (now South African) author of *Insanity Fair,* this new book has passed through five printings in South Africa in four months and states that the battle for independence being waged by Rhodesia is essentially our own battle. In this new American edition the author includes a message to the American people and a special interview with Prime Minister Ian D. Smith. It discusses the vital interest of the free world in the survival of the Western, anti-Communist governments of Southern Africa.

Douglas Reed writes: "It is simple enough, a mathematical calculation. Rhodesia means you, from Whitehall to Washington, Wisconsin to Worcestershire, Los Angeles to Wilmington and Winnipeg, and you cannot escape it. Rhodesia is no distant, isolated African episode: it reaches into your very home, however far away you may be."

• Douglas Reed, who accurately predicted the outbreak of World War II, has issued a warning that the seeds of a third global conflict are being sown in Rhodesia by the United Nations, or "Benighted Nations" as he calls it. Chicago Tribune

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ONE AGAINST THE MOB

By Anthony Harrigan

This new book by the editor of the Charleston News and Courier whose previous books include *Red Star Over Africa* and *Guide to the War in Viet Nam* deals with how U.S.-U.N. meddling in Rhodesia may cause another war and our grim stake in Rhodesia's ordeal of independence. This book brings you a new perspective of a progressive, hardworking, liberty-loving people and a clear focus on the central issues . . . richly illustrated with over 60 photos! A clear case for Rhodesian independence.

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• "Harrigan puts the case cogently, without emotional outbursts; and he makes you wonder whether, in the end, you might not rather live in Rhodesia yourself than in cuckooland."—The Columbia State

• Anthony Harrigan asks: "Will the West endeavor to push the Rhodesians, South Africa and the Portuguese into the sea in political and military acts that amount to virtual suicide for the West?"—Christian Economics

• One Against the Mob is the first impartial report on Rhodesia that I have read."—Former Ambassador Philip Kingsland Crowe

• Mr. Harrigan has turned out a desperately needed book about Rhodesia's struggle for the right to continue exercising responsible self-government, as she has been doing since 1923."—American Opinion

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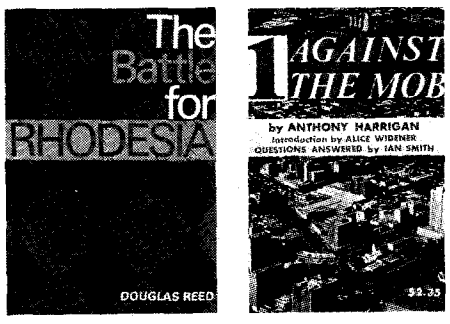
All Americans concerned about our nation's reckless course in Southern Africa should have both of these books. They should be read by every opinion maker, teacher, student and businessman. If war in Southern Africa is to be averted an informed citizenry is necessary. These books explode the myths in which the U.N. is shrouding its actions against Rhodesia and South Africa.



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Government Fights Gas Price Hike

The Real Tiger in the Tank Is Taxes

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

If President Johnson were half as concerned about the cost of government as he is about the cost of gasoline, maybe we'd get the truth for a change and the politicians might quit robbing us deaf, dumb and blind for awhile.

On February 11 the Interior Department asked eight major oil companies to rescind a one-cent gasoline price increase. "The national interest in stable prices requires this," said the "Great Society's" thunderclap pronunciamento.

In simple truth, and astoundingly enough, the average retail price of gasoline—before taxes—has declined in the past 10 years. In 1957 a gallon of regular gas—before taxes—cost 22.11 cents. In 1966 it cost 21.57 cents. But who would know it? Nor is selling at these prices a very profitable business. An average of one of every four gasoline filling stations fails or changes hands each year.

Translate this now into our cost of living. Our cars are important to us and to the whole family—fully as important as the overgarnished oratorical blue plates dished out to us by the politicians.

In most of the world when riding is done, men do it; camels, donkeys and women walk. Not here. The average family buys 650 gallons of gasoline a year. Our total vehicles average 775 gallons apiece. New York City must find the room for 1.5 million cars to drive and park. And the cost of living has gone down in terms of gasoline.

But taxes are the largest single item in our cost of living. Nothing else is even a close second. Our annual clothing bill is $1.6 billion. Our annual total tax bill exceeds $165 billion. And the cheery sound you hear at the gasoline pump is our tax money clinking, clanking, tinkling down the drain.

Gasoline taxes have been hiked nearly 19 per cent in the same period that the prices have gone down. The federal and state taxes now average 10.51 cents a gallon. We used 74 billion gallons last year. Each one cent in taxes costs us about $740 million a year. That aggregates close to $8 billion a year. Oh, *Mama mia!*

But the truth is seldom known unless it is brought to light, and business people have been shockingly neglectful in not making all the incredible tax loads crystal clear to the entire public—in every factory where people work, every store where people buy.

I saw with joy in Virginia last week an interstate truck legended with a mighty informative sign: "This vehicle pays more than $3,250 a year in taxes." That's the ticket! And while we're talking about things that roll, how many people do you suppose know that in a single 24-hour period our railroads pay about $2.5 million in taxes—and must charge this to us in the freight bills we pay for in prices?

Federal taxes are up 148 per cent since 1950; state and local taxes 230 per cent. That's an average of nearly 190 per cent. Meanwhile, it takes all the federal taxes of all the people who earn $6,000 a year or less just to pay the interest on the money Washington has already borrowed.

If you are the average workman you work two hours and 19 minutes a day to pay your taxes. A $10,000-a-year man (married, two children) pays about $1,000 a year in direct income taxes and is one of 67 million Americans directly listed on the federal tax rolls. His deductions for Social Security will be close to $300 this year. In fact, these withheld taxes will cost him about one-third as much as his income tax. When the employer's equal payment is included, it's two-thirds. Total federal, state and local taxes now cost us about $850 a year for every man, woman and child in the United States.

So here we all stand—the taxpayer Atlas holding up the bureaucratic world of waste, boobland decisions and political greed. It is utterly preposterous for the Washington Robin Hoods of the Red Ink to talk about the cost of living, send out their thunderclap pronunciamentos and leave out taxes as the No. 1 item, although they'd as soon eat an Eskimo's boots as let us in on that secret. No prize for guessing why.

And so it goes in the unbuoyed, unlighted shoal waters of the "Great Society." The real tiger in the tank is taxes.

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DANGEROUS DOCTRINE—"The great object of my fear is the federal judiciary. That body, like gravity, ever acting with noiseless foot and alarming advance . . . is engulfing insidiously the special governments into the jaws of that which feeds them. It is a very dangerous doctrine to consider the judges as the ultimate arbiters of all constitutional matters. It is one which would place us under the despotism of an oligarchy."—Thomas Jefferson

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Do the Kennedys Want Privacy?

Columnist Inez Robb, whose heart normally palpitates wildly for anyone left of center, has exposed a bit of hypocrisy by the Kennedys.

"In recent weeks," she started out in her column, "the world has been saturated by impassioned prose, especially from the Kennedy literary Mafia, about the right of the Kennedy clan—particularly Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy and her two children—to privacy with a capital P. But the average reader must be forgiven his skepticism."

Skeptic Robb noted that the day she read John Kenneth Galbraith's "unctuous defense" of Kennedy privacy, she happened upon the current *McCall's* and *Ladies' Home Journal.* The principal articles in these magazines, she related, were about the Kennedys and were obviously done with their consent, since neither the articles nor the numerous Kennedy pictures that accompanied the stories would have been possible otherwise.

"Astonishing as it may seem," Miss Robb went on, "after the recent pleas for privacy for Caroline and John-John Kennedy, the cover of *McCall's* features a color picture of Caroline. Also on the cover are smaller color photographs of Caroline's cousins, Courtney, Michael and Matthew, children of Sen. and Mrs. Robert F. Kennedy; and of Edward Jr. and Kara, children of Sen. and Mrs. Edward Kennedy." Most of the pictures were taken at Hickory Hill, the McLean, Va., home of the Robert F. Kennedys.

In the past four years McCall's **has published nine articles on various Kennedys, including "Christmas Paintings of Jacqueline Kennedy" in December 1963 and "Letters of Sympathy to Mrs. John F. Kennedy" in June 1964. As a member of** McCall's **staff told Miss Robb: "The Kennedys were co-operative."**

A writer and photographer were welcome adjuncts to the Robert F. Kennedy excursions through the Utah and Colorado wilderness 18 months ago, all duly recorded in *McCall's* of May 1966. A writer and photographer for the *Ladies' Home Journal* were equally welcome week-end guests of the Robert Kennedys when they recorded for posterity—and the *Journal*—a strenuously Kennedy "live-in" in the country.

The real literary coup for the *Journal,* stated Miss Robb, was the writer it captured to do the introductions to its current article, "What It Takes to Be a Kennedy," as advertised in bold type on its cover. The *Journal* "enticed" Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy herself to write the foreword, titled "The Real Robert F. Kennedy." "People of private nature are often misunderstood because they are too shy and too proud to explain themselves," Mrs. Kennedy ironically wrote.

"Perhaps," concluded Miss Robb, "the general public would be more willing to accept the 'private nature' of the Kennedys if its members would practice, as strenuously as they preach, the doctrine of privacy."

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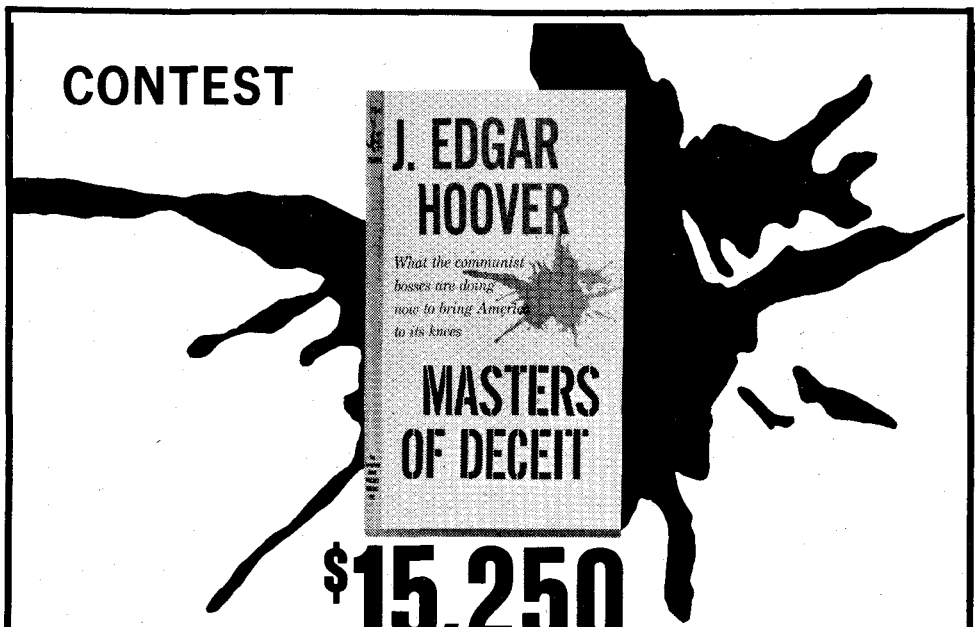

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Sorensen–From White House to 'White Mercenary'

By JOHN BOLAND

Theodore Sorensen, once acclaimed—in his capacity as special counsel to President John F. Kennedy—as "the most important and influential man in Washington," is now in the hire of one of Africa's most brutal and bumbling dictators, the Congo's Joseph Mobutu. Mobutu, who early in 1966 ousted Congolese leader Joseph Kasavubu, appointed himself president, and named his cousin as minister of finance, has engaged Sorensen as top legal adviser for the once progressive, but now faltering African nation.

This places Sorensen, the late President Kennedy's closest associate and most trusted confidant, in the virtual role of a "white mercenary," an occupation he harshly deplored during that period when Katanga attempted to secede from the Congo union.

In his prize-winning book, *Kennedy,* Sorensen made it clear that he held nothing but contempt for Katanga leader Moise Tshombe and his so-called "white mercenary army." "Katanga," Sorensen wrote, "with less than one-twelfth of the Congo's territory and one-twentieth of its population, produced three-fifths of its revenue and possessed the bulk of its mineral wealth—particularly the rich copper and cobalt mines of the giant Union Miniere combine."

Rationalizing United States support of the United Nations invasion and defeat of Katanga, Sorensen explained: "Tshombe, the [Katanga] province's shrewd leader, used these resources and revenues to enlist help from powerful European investors to pay white mercenaries in his army and to employ lobbyists in the U.N. and Washington."

Moise Tshombe, Sorensen charged, was only "a black anti-Communist hero" to "white supremists in the United States Senate." How or why "white supremists" could or would have a "black hero," Sorensen did not go on to explain. Presumably it was not the "white" and "black" that mattered to Kennedy's chief "braintrust"; it was Tshombe's militant anti-communism that did.

To observers of what some might call the Sorensen phenomenon—a skyrocketing career from obscurity to national prominence—this was a typical Sorensen reaction. The internationalist-minded Kennedy aide was never one to be overly critical of the Communists. Government liberals could hail him as the youngest one-worlder in the capital and a rabid United Nations promoter.

Leftist Family Background

During his college days at the University of Nebraska law school, Sorensen received academic applause as chairman of the student mock U.N. convention.

Sorensen's entire background leans more than slightly to the left. His parents were ardent pacifists; his father had even sailed to Europe on Henry Ford's peace ship. During his younger years Sorensen's Unitarian parents fed him a steady diet of "progressive" and liberal magazines and books. Sorensen registered as a Korean War conscientious objector.

While still an unknown in Washington, Sorensen was befriended by a lawyer at a convention of the ultra-liberal Americans for Democratic Action and the lawyer arranged a government job for him. Sorensen's work as a research assistant for a subcommittee on railroad retirement so impressed then Illinois Sen. Paul Douglas that he recommended young Sorensen for a job as administrative assistant to the newly elected junior senator from Massachusetts—John Kennedy.

Mobutu's Racist Policies

Kennedy and Sorensen struck it off well from the beginning. In 1955, while Kennedy was resting from a back injury, Sorensen did all the research for *Profiles in Courage,* which was to win Kennedy a Pulitzer Prize and the immediate attention of his party. A friend of Sorensen once said young Sorensen had one goal and that was "to get John F. Kennedy elected President."

As special counsel and speech writer for Kennedy, a top government official claimed, "Sorensen now stands in the White House tradition of Col. House, Harry Hopkins and Sherman Adams." After Kennedy's assassination, Sorensen left governmental work for a job as "editor-at-large" on the staff of *Saturday Review* magazine.

His acceptance of a more impressive position as top legal advisor to Mobutu came as a surprise to many who considered Sorensen a never-say-die, arch enemy of dictators. And Mobutu is one of the worst.

In Africa, where world attention is centered on Rhodesia, Washington liberals' favorite chant is to accuse Ian Smith's relatively paternal Rhodesian government of being "white supremist." The same liberals, however, call little attention to Mobutu's black racist rule.

Joseph Mobutu, chieftain of the trouble-racked Congo, has remained in power by terrorizing and even killing his political opponents.

From the beginning of his reign, Mobutu has waged a violent anti-white campaign in the Congo. Countless incidents, including the following, attest to this:

- A Belgian industrialist was jailed and then deported after Africans accused him of naming his three dogs Mobutu, Kasavubu and Tshombe.
- White shoppers in Congo stores must keep back and wait until all Africans are served before being waited on themselves.
- Four American businessmen on an official trip to study investment projects were roughed up and arrested for no reason at all.
- A young Britisher was beaten and accused of being a "Tshombe spy."
- Newsmen have been arrested and held in minitary prisons for weeks without being charged.

Mobutu has arrested, clubbed or even executed most of his political opponents. A year ago last January, a grotesque trial of four ex-government officials was especially shocking. Ex-Premier Evariste Kimba, former Finance Minister Emmanuel Bamba, Alexander Mahamba and Jerome Anany, a one-time Congo defense minister, were accused of plotting Mobutu's assassination. Few facts corroborated Mobutu's charge, yet the four were executed by hanging in a public square in Leopoldville.

One of the first things Mobutu did upon seizing the Congo government was to quickly re-establish diplomatic relations with Communist Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. Relations with anti-Communist Portugal were, in turn, severed.

Where liberals in Washington and elsewhere were quick to howl about Tshombe's "white mercenaries," today they are extremely silent about those same "white mercenaries" who are helping Mobutu stay in power. Mercenaries are soldiers of fortune, willing to work for anyone able to pay. Mobutu pays.

Union Miniere Vital

Disgusted, one "white mercenary" recently told newsmen that he "used to tell the men they were fighting to keep communism out of Africa." Now, he says, "that purpose seems to have gone."

Most of the "white mercenaries" are recruited from the gutters of Europe and Africa. Sorensen is one of the first recruits from Washington and his job might be classified as "white collar mercenary." Observers in Kinshasa (formerly Leopoldville) feel that Mobutu hired the ex-Kennedy aide chiefly to help negotiate a financial arrangement between the Belgium-owned Union Miniere du Haute Katanga mines and the Mobutu government.

Mobutu strongmen seized the Katanga-located mine last January without compensation to its owners. Godefroid Munongo, the province's pro-Tshombe governor, was removed and placed under arrest. Mobutu then appointed Brigade Cmdr. Gen. Masiala as the new military governor to replace Munongo. Masiala has terrorized, arrested, beaten and deported hundreds of European specialists working at the mines.

Once JFK's speech writer, Ted Sorensen now works for Congo dictator Joseph Mobutu.

Some feel that Mobutu now sees his mistakes and has agreed to negotiate with the Banque de Belgique, which runs the international copper consortium—of which Union Miniere is a part. There is talk that Sorensen could better handle negotiations with the consortium head than any of Mobutu's present economic aides. Mobutu wants Union Miniere to hand over all its skilled technicians to operate his now nationalized Congo mining industry.

Sorensen might be the man to help the Congolese dictator and the Belgian millionaires reach some sort of common agreement. Mobutu must certainly hope so. Today in the Congo, as the New York *Times* has pointed out, "the key to all 1967 economic plans is the Union Miniere." The mine, one of the world's richest, puts out $200 million worth of copper and cobalt each year and exports electric power to neighboring Zambia.

U.S. Aid Squandered

Dictator Mobutu's whole political future depends on getting the mines operating at full force. More than $300 million in U.S. foreign aid and 1,200 U.N. technicians have tried to keep the Congo running, but to no avail. The entire country is rotting away.

U.S. aid has mysteriously disappeared into the pockets of Congolese ministers of state. In colonial days the Congo grew enough food to feed its people with much left over. Today 15 million Congolese face starvation. This can be attributed to free food shipped from the United States. Many Africans have given up farming because, until only recently, there has been enough free food to fill their stomachs.

The Congo's one graduate in finance—from the London School of Economics—has tried applying Keynesian theory to the Congo, but without success. Mobutu, it seems, is pinning high hopes on Ted Sorensen's already demonstrated ability as a fast man with the right word. Sorensen will have to work hard to prove himself. The Belgians are hard bargainers.

At any rate, win or lose, Sorensen's next best-seller just might be titled *Uhuru Mobutu* That's the story going around the grass and mud huts these days.

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Secrecy Surrounds New Plane

The SST—Can Taxpayers Afford Such Speed?

A textbook case of managed news is currently being written in official Washington. At stake is not only the public's right to know but more than $3 billion in federal funds.

Two years ago the Federal Aviation Agency launched a multi-billion-dollar crash program to develop the supersonic transport, a much-ballyhooed plane designed to whisk passengers from continent to continent at three times the speed of sound. Agency officials announced that Washington would supply 90 per cent of the money, with Boeing subsequently selected as prime contractor.

The FAA plans came under heavy fire. Sen. Stuart Symington (D.-Mo.), the nation's first air force secretary, expressed grave doubts that the SST was technically feasible. Rep. Frank Bow (R.-Ohio), ranking Republican on the House Appropriations Committee, introduced legislation prohibiting government support of the plane. Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wis.) challenged SST supporters to name a single program "more unjustified, extravagant and wasteful."

FAA officials reacted predictably, contracting for a series of studies that would, they expected, demonstrate the worthiness of the SST. That was a year ago. The reports—prepared at a cost to the taxpayers of $663,190—are now in. But they have been stamped top secret by the very FAA officials who promised last year they would be made available to the public.

"Anything that's been done in this area is for controlled distribution only," an FAA spokesman explained recently in refusing to make the studies available to newsmen. "This means the reports are available only to people who establish a 'need to know.' "

FAA officials have decided that even members of Congress lack the "need to know" and the reports are gathering dust. Nevertheless, evidence mounts that the studies are not what the FAA expected. "We all agree there's absolutely no economic justification for building this plane," a government economist told the *Wall Street Journal*. "This thing could become the FAA's Edsel," predicted another.

The FAA has maintained for several years that development of the SST would alleviate the nation's balance-of-payments deficit, that foreign nations would queue up to purchase the $35-million planes. Among the reports on which FAA officials are now sitting is one that indicates the SST could actually further worsen the payments situation.

Another study marked top secret by the FAA says that SST fares would be so much higher than current jet rates that only a relative handful of travelers would avail themselves of the 1,800-mph service.

"The project is tremendously inequitable," says George W. Hilton, a UCLA economist who was chairman of a 1964 transportation task force established by the President. "It would tax all Americans for the benefit of those few who put a great premium on speed, or are traveling on expense accounts."

A study by United Airlines indicates that the operating costs of the SST would be from 26 to 43 per cent higher than present-day jet transports. And the head of the International Air Transport Association, Kurt Hammarskjold, says flatly that the SST does not meet the "design objectives" that would make it a profitable plane to operate. He echoes the view of an Air India official: "We can't pay five times present costs for two and one-half times present productivity."

The SST is plagued not only by economic problems. Consider the technical obstacles that must be overcome. Dr. John E. Gibson, dean of engineering at Michigan's Oakland University and a former Air Force consultant reports:

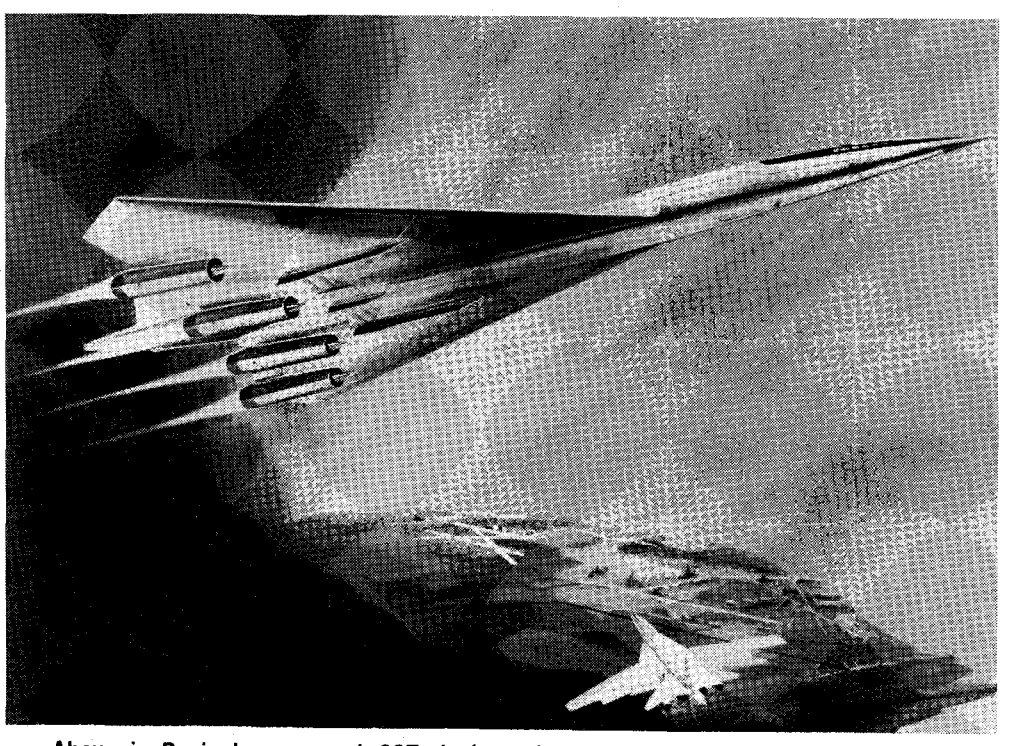
"At 70,000 feet—the proposed cruising altitude of the SST—there will be no need of oxygen masks if cabin pressure is lost. The reason is that the human body undergoes explosive decompression, the blood boils, and death occurs within several seconds. This happens whether or not one wears an oxygen mask."

Cosmic rays are another problem. At 70,000 feet cosmic ray intensity is anywhere from two to five times greater than at sea level.

Federal air surgeon Peter Siegel admits that shielding SST passengers from radiation "flak" will be difficult. But, the good doctor adds optimistically, studies are under way "to gain knowledge of the radiation environment so that predictions can be made of the possible damage or genetic effects" on SST travelers.

Then there are the mundane questions of passenger comfort and convenience. Air Force-sponsored studies indicate that because of air turbulence, a typical SST will provide for a far less comfortable ride than current jet liners. It is possible, says one expert, that passengers will be strapped to contour couches for the entire flight to avoid injury.

The problems of sonic booms are very possibly insurmountable. A supersonic plane lays down a 40-mile-wide trail of jarring thunderclaps. The windows of homes below are broken, plaster cracked. Under certain conditions a sonic boom could maim and kill while leveling an entire town.



Above is Boeing's proposed SST design. A tremendous amount of government spending may go into this project which has doubtful economic and technical advantages over aircraft currently in use.

FAA officials conducted a 26-week test of "public reaction" to limited sonic booms in Oklahoma City in 1964. Local residents registered more than 15,000 formal complaints and filed nearly 5,000 damage claims. FAA spokesmen initially maintained that the boom was a "by-product of progress" that Americans must learn to accept.

But this approach has now been dropped, and FAA Administrator William F. McKee recently indicated that the SST will be flown only on over-water routes.

But McKee's predecessor, Najeeb Halaby, reported in 1964 that "the loss of market potential due to such a restriction would probably be so severe as to make commercial production of the SST economically unfeasible."

Thus far Congress has appropriated $511 million for the SST and FAA officials are urging LBJ to go ahead with construction of an SST prototype, a move that would cost taxpayers $40 million a month. In fact, the President's budget message requested a contingency fund "adequate to cover the possible costs of this effort should an affirmative decision be made to proceed."

Rep. Frank T. Bow (R.-Ohio) has introduced legislation banning federal funds for the SST.

Sen. Proxmire, chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, has called upon LBJ to cancel work on the SST at a time when inflation and the spiraling costs of the Viet Nam war are inflicting new hardships on the American taxpayer. The Wisconsin solon minced no words:

"This plane will cost the taxpayers more than $3 billion before it's completed. It may never fly. It has no military value at all. It will serve only to carry a playboy and his girl from New York to Paris in two and a half hours instead of the present six. If there's anything this country doesn't need it's this giveaway to the jet set."

Suspects Like 'Miranda' Decision

Evidence mounts that starry-eyed decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court are contributing to the nation's soaring crime rate. Only last week, New York authorities were forced to free a confessed murderer who had admitted killing his wife and five children.

"This is a very sad thing," said state Supreme Court Justice Michael Kerr. "It is so repulsive it makes one's blood run cold and any decent human being's stomach turn to let a thing like this out on the street."

It was the fourth case in New York in little more than a month in which a confessed murderer went free as a result of the Supreme Court's *Miranda* ruling, which drastically limits the authority of police to question suspects.

Brooklyn District Attorney Aaron Koota said that in a recent three-month period, 130 of 316 suspects refused to make any statement as a result of the *Miranda* ruling and were released. He said the crimes involved included homicide, rape and felonious assault.

Police chiefs L. E. McAlliffe of St. Paul, Minn., and Harold A. Breier of Milwaukee, Wis., also both denounced the Supreme Court rulings in testimony before a Senate subcommittee. "The court is taking a real risk with society's welfare in imposing its new regime on the country," said Breier. "The social costs of crime are too great to call the new rule anything but a hazardous experimentation."

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Despite Many Denials, Rocky Gears Up Presidential Machine

By VICTOR RIESEL

Some of us at a White House party not too long ago were surprised to bump into the Nelson Rockefellers, and buzzed a bit when we saw the gracious "Happy" dine at the side of the President at the table near the fireplace while her husband, the governor, beamed.

A wit with the Broadway crowd murmured that perhaps there would be a Johnson-Rockefeller ticket and a dinner companion suggested that perhaps "Rocky" was just looking the house over before leasing it.

Could be. This exchange sprang to mind while chasing the governor around on the eve of Lincoln's Birthday. It was a swift Saturday night.

If the gay, bantering, fast-moving Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller was not running for President that night, he's a glutton for freezing weather, back slapping, hand-wringing and wildly cheering crowds—not the least of which was the biggest massing of labor leaders in recent political history.

At no time during the careening evening did Gov. Rockefeller forget to pay tribute to the union chiefs. At no time during these tributes was he without his labor advisers—chief of whom is his Dartmouth College chum, Victor Borella.

There were three banquets. But his first stop was not the gathering of the

Labor leaders are important in Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's strategy.

cheering, mellow, victorious Republicans of the new GOP bastion—Manhattan. "Rocky" made it first to the powerhouse.

At 6:45 p.m. his car rolled up the Hotel Commodore ramp to be greeted by a committee of the New York City Central Labor Council—spokesmen for a million militant, powerfully organized unionists. This hotel really is labor's headquarters away from labor's official headquarters—whether they be in Washington or New York.

Up he was whisked to the special reception of taxi drivers. They cheered and whistled. Then he struck his theme for the evening.

It was like old home week. And he wanted to thank them for helping get "Happy" to the hospital in the a.m. hours when she gave birth to their second son.

More cheering—and up to the mass reception. More greeting of old friends—men who are fighting for the four-hour day, a guaranteed national income for each poverty family, and for the launching of a vast national agricultural labor federation stretching from Napa, Calif., to the grapevines of western New York.

Once more it was like old home week. Hundreds of outstretched hands, scores of quips and questions about "Happy." Then onto the banquet dais itself.

Once more thanks to the taxi drivers and this time, to the hospital workers, too. No real politics. Just a homey speech.

And some 1,500 labor leaders rose in a mighty standing ovation for the only speaker of the evening—Gov. Rockefeller. Almost everybody was there.

Then, leaving Victor Borella on the dais to represent "the presence," Rockefeller drove up Park Avenue to the Waldorf Astoria. It was a gay black-tie crowd which minded not at all paying $150 a ticket. "Rocky" grinned as he moved slowly through the enormous mass of guests.

Then the band struck up "Hello Rocky" like in Dolly or Lyndon. The diners loved it and went back to their chateaubriand and elephant molded ice cream—with upraised trunks, of course.

But even here among the black ties and the jammed judiciary, labor was not forgotten.

"Rocky," saying he'd stand by what was in his mimeographed speech, threw it away. In it was a fascinating line where he said, "My thanks to all those friends in organized labor, in business, the professions and many other walks of life. . . ." But labor led all the rest, please note.

Once more, before he yielded the floor to the strong-voiced Raymond Shafer, governor of Pennsylvania, "Rocky" happily thanked the taxi drivers and hospital workers for the night of the blessed event.

And then came Mr. Shafer, with many words about the need for "practical Republicanism" and unity. Everybody appeared to believe that this was a bid from more conservative forces. There was no booing of this insinuation—this reference interpreted as saying, throw no one out, not Ronald Reagan, not Barry Goldwater.

Only Jack Javits broke the spell. And silence rebuked his assault on the campaign of yesteryear.

Then "Rocky" and some others moved on to still another banquet. But the line was obvious. And it appeared to run all the way from the power bloc in the East—unions and all—right into the West and Southwest.

Certainly it appeared that, despite all protestations, Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller wanted to get back into the White House—this time as host.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Civil War Today

By REP. TOM MESKILL (R.-Conn.)

If the present Administration had been in charge of the Civil War, Gen. Grant probably would not have been put in command — he knew too well what was needed to win a war and how to do it. He knew that the only way to peace and the best way to save lives was to defeat the enemy as quickly as possible. Even if Grant had been given the command, the present Administration would have so restricted his ability to maneuver that it would have been impossible for him to fight to victory. Frequent holidays would have been ordered, giving Gen. Lee time to rest and regroup his forces. Various areas would have been ruled off-limits for attack, even if the enemy occupied them and used them as bases from which to launch attacks on us or as havens into which they could retire unmolested.

The present Administration would have sought to expand its trading relations with Great Britain and other nations supplying the Confederacy. It would never have authorized a naval blockade. No doubt some leading members of the Administration's political party would have delivered speeches and made other moves of aid and comfort to the enemy and raised the enemy's hopes by efforts to show disunity on our side.

When all peaceful efforts to resolve a critical issue fail and a nation is forced to arms, the most merciful way to decide the issue and to re-establish peace is to fight the war by every available means. Swift, sure blows struck hard from the outset are the quickest way to terminate the hell of war.

Lincoln had to marshal a country, build an army and find a proper general before he could follow this course. The same was true of Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt in later wars. But today we *have* the resources *and* the general. But, while the politicians dawdle and maneuver, people are dying—our men, our allies' men, Communist soldiers and innocent civilians on both sides. And the issue is no closer to decision and peace still rides over the horizon.

Obscene Phone Calls

By REP. JOHN DOWDY (D.-Tex.)

It is entirely possible that Congress will pass an act during this session to make obscene and threatening telephone calls a federal offense. This has been a growing problem. During the past year more than 55,000 such calls were reported each month to telephone companies. There is no way of knowing how many unreported calls were made. People who make such calls probably will not have anyone to front for them, so there may not be the overwhelming opposition to legislation as we find when trying to do something about the publication and sale of obscene literature.

Fighting Crime

By REP. DONALD (BUZ) LUKENS (R.-Ohio)

Newcomers to Washington are always astonished to find the U.S. Capital, which certainly should be a "model" for the entire nation, is one of the most dangerous cities of all. Local newspapers, from time to time, feel called upon to print instructions for housewives on how to avoid attacks and how to defend themselves if one occurs.

The situation, to say the least, is a national disgrace which the U.S. Congress has spent many hours attempting to correct. In the last session the Congress enacted a crime bill for the District of Columbia. It wasn't a perfect measure, but it was a step in the right direction at a very critical time. It was vetoed by the President. Technical reasons were cited, but the opposition of powerful leftist groups undoubtedly made the difference.

In view of the fact violent crimes were on the increase three years ago and the Republicans made a direct campaign issue of it in 1964, the Administration's crime prevention message to the 90th Congress comes a little late. It will do nothing for the victims of the murder, rape and aggravated assault cases which have taken place since the condition became a national issue. Let's hope the 90th Congress will be able to do something about it quickly. It certainly will receive the best efforts I can put forward.

Dealing With Communists

By SEN. THOMAS DODD (D.-Conn.)

We ought not to get so openminded that we get empty headed. We should not get so broadminded that we get flatheaded.

Just a Second

By REP. HAROLD COLLIER (R.-Ill.)

The federal government's administrative budget for fiscal 1968 calls for spending $135 billion, a sum that is all but incomprehensible to the average American. You had better try to comprehend it, though, as you and your fellow-taxpayers and bond-purchasers will have to raise this vast amount of money if Congress does not slash spending drastically. Perhaps the following computation will help you: Divide $135 billion by 366, the number of days in fiscal 1968, divide the answer by 24, divide that answer by 60, and also the next result by 60. Take my word for it and save time—the answer is $4,270, the sum that the national government will spend each and every second throughout the year!

Personally, I am in favor of chopping several billions from President Johnson's budget. Do I hear a second?

America's Growing Gold Crisis

By REP. RICHARD POFF (R.-Va.)

Statistics are sterile, dry, intellectual grist.

Yet they sometimes reflect reality more accurately than words. Statistics concerning America's gold situation dramatize the truly dangerous fiscal posture into which this nation has slouched in the last several years.

In 1958 the total world gold supply was $39 billion; today it is $43.5 billion.

In 1958 the United States held $21 billion in gold; this was 54 per cent of the world supply. Today the U.S. holds only $13.2 billion, which is only 30 per cent of the world supply.

In this same time period, the gold supply of all European nations increased from $13 billion to $23 billion, while the supply of all other nations increased from $5 billion to $7.3 billion. One nation, France, alone stepped up her supply by more than 500 per cent.

Here is the summary picture these statistics paint:

1. America has suffered an absolute loss of gold;

2. America has suffered a loss of her pro rata share of world gold;

3. America's losses, both absolutely and proportionately, have been greater than those of any other major power; and

4. other nations collectively (and most other nations individually) have enjoyed both an absolute and a proportionate increase in gold holdings.

This dramatizes the inescapable fact that the United States does not occupy the same position of pre-eminence in the financial world it once did. Another fact which cannot be blinked away is that the national debt of the United States is greater than the debt of all of the other nations of the world combined. Still another fact with which the nation has been living for too many years is a continuing deficit in the international balance of payments.

When these three essential facts are fully understood in all of their implications, it is easier to appreciate the nature and dimensions of the danger which America faces. When we owe more and own less and operate at a deficit in the world community, America is bound to decline while other nations ascend.

What Will CIA Answer?

The following letter was sent in the wake of the recent CIA-NSA revelations:

February 14, 1967

Mr. Richard Helms
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Mr. Helms:

We note with some concern that the National Student Association has been subsidized for a number of years by the Central Intelligence Agency.

In case you are not aware of it, the policy of the United States government has been to oppose admission of Communist China to the United Nations. The National Student Association favors such admission.

And the policy of the United States government has been to defend our nation's presence in Viet Nam. The National Student Association opposes the government's position on Vietnam.

Also, you may recall that former President Dwight D. Eisenhower had to cancel a trip to Japan because of riots by Communist and Socialist students protesting his visit. The National Student Association backed the Japanese students.

Since, despite such actions, you apparently have seen fit to subsidize the National Student Association to the amount of more than one million dollars over the past decade, we can only conclude that there is no relationship between "official" U.S. government policy and the policy of C.I.A. fronts. Therefore, we feel we might also qualify for aid from the Central Intelligence Agency, and would appreciate an application form for such a request.

If necessary in order to qualify, we would be willing to increase our opposition to the policies of the present Administration in regard to Rhodesia, trade with the enemy, and the Consular Treaty, and would increase our opposition to the government's no-win policy in Vietnam.

With deep appreciation for your consideration of this request,

Sincerely,

David L. Jones

David R. Jones
Executive Director
Young Americans for Freedom, Inc.

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The Contradictions of Christian Socialism

By IRVING E. HOWARD in *Christian Economics*

Acts 2:44: And all that believed were together and had all things common.

A professor in a well-known Christian college has been quoted as saying: "I see nothing wrong with socialism. I believe that socialism is more compatible with Christianity than is capitalism."

This professor—and many more like him—is ignorant either of the nature of socialism or of the nature of Christianity—or both. The term "Christian Socialist" is a contradiction, for it is impossible to be a Christian in the true sense of the word and at the same time be a Socialist in the true sense of that word. A person who tries must compromise either his Christianity or his socialism.

The "Christian Socialist" frequently turns to this example of Christian sharing in *Acts 2:44* to support his case. However, the fact that these believers "had all things common" is no evidence that they were Socialists. Their sharing was voluntary, while coercion is at the heart of socialism.

The Socialist is never content with voluntarism, but must pass laws to make people conform to what he thinks is best. This is equally true of classical socialism in which government takes over the means of production or of the milder welfare state variety in which government redistributes wealth, controls production, and socializes the distribution. Both kinds are made effective by means of the coercive power of government. This is the first contradiction in "Christian Socialism."

The coercion of government had no part in the First Century sharing of goods by the Christians at Jerusalem. Above all, the Christian ethic rests upon the free choice of individuals.

It ought not to be necessary to say that this sharing in *Acts* was not an example of communism, but the depth of confusion about this matter is unbelievable. Not only was there no coercion, but there was no thought of class conflict, and—most important of all—no denial of the right to private property.

The fact that Ananias and Sapphira were judged for pretending that the sum they brought to the common pool was all that they had received for their land, and were not condemned for holding back a part of it—which they clearly had a right to do (*Acts 5:4*)—underscores the right to private property and the fact that this sharing was voluntary. Most of the believers brought all they had, but only because they wanted to.

This Holy Spirit-inspired spirit of sharing has sometimes been called an example of "primitive communism" to differentiate it from Marxian communism, but even this is a misue of words.

The Communist theory of society, whether primitive or modern, begins with the cardinal assumption that all property should be vested in the community. Nothing in the New Testament supports such a theory. This is another contradiction in "Christian Socialism."

The believers in Jerusalem shared, first, because they were suffering persecution—economic discrimination—and consequently many were in need, and second, because they were moved by the Holy Spirit to "bear one another's burdens."

Paul later solicited contributions among the Gentile churches for these persecuted believers in Jerusalem (*I Corinthians 16:1-4*). It is pointless to say, as some have, that because Paul had to take collections for the believers in Jerusalem, the sharing of goods did not "work." Their sharing was not supposed to furnish a model economic system. It was a temporary, practical solution of a practical problem.

Yet it was more. It was an expression of the Holy Spirit. Jesus had exhorted his followers to show compassion, and in *Acts* we see them fairly running over with it. Their actions have been a problem to the secular-minded ever since.

The Communists and Socialists have tried to claim them, but they were neither Communists nor Socialists. Others have been embarrassed by them and have tried to explain their behavior by saying that they made a mistake. They tried something that did not work.

It is difficult for some to recognize these believers as compassionate Christians led by the Holy Spirit. This same spirit of compassion has littered history with charitable institutions. Without benefit of government, Christian compassion has founded hospitals, orphanages, welfare organizations of all kinds, schools and has sent out foreign missionaries. These were not the fruit of "Christian Socialism," but of Christian compassion.

Since the turn of the century, compassion has been on the wane. As churches have turned more and more to political activity, they have become increasingly compassionless. Thus, a vacuum has developed and government has moved to fill the vacuum.

History warns that almost every expansion of government has been the result of the failure of citizens to fulfil their responsibilities.

It follows then, that the remedy to the disease of expanding government, which is bringing us to the Beast State, is the expansion of the Holy Spirit in society. This is the message—and not "Christian Socialism"—that is written large in the history book of the New Testament.

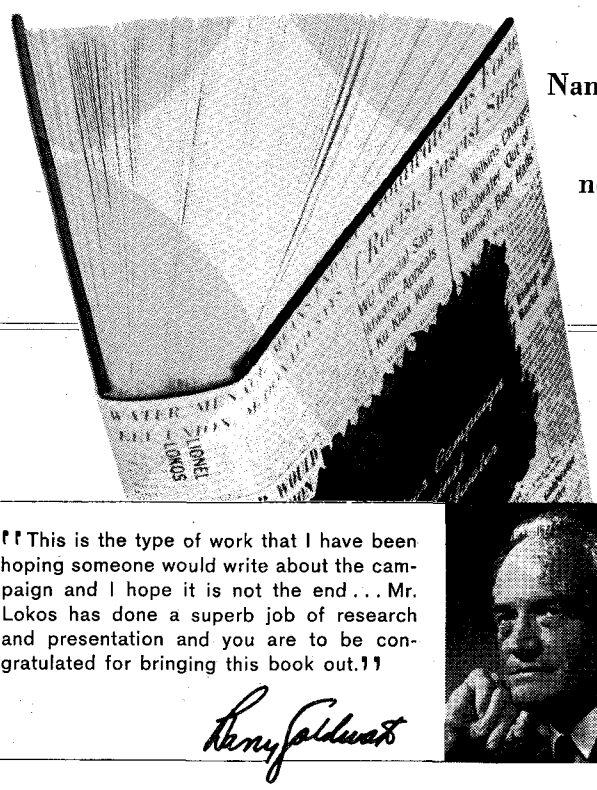
□ □ □

NEW RECORDING—Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen is now a recording star with his patriotic album, "The Gallant Men," selling every bit as well as the Beatles' first release. Dirksen is turning over all profits (more than $100,000 thus far) to charity.

□ □ □

REP. JOSEPH RESNICK (D.-N.Y.) is sharply critical of Bobby Kennedy, who claims to be the Empire State's top Democrat. "I don't trust his naked ambition," says Resnick. "It seems to me there are limits to even this."

Just published! The definitive work on the most disgraceful smear campaign in U.S. political history.



Names the *people* . . . the *newspapers* . . . *magazines* . . . *networks* that carried out a strategy of lies, news distortion and news suppression — the better to spread hysteria throughout our country!

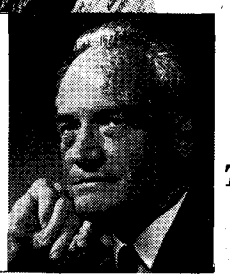
HYSTERIA 1964

The Fear Campaign Against Barry Goldwater

by Lionel Lokos. A Selection of the Conservative Book Club

"This is the type of work that I have been hoping someone would write about the campaign and I hope it is not the end . . . Mr. Lokos has done a superb job of research and presentation and you are to be congratulated for bringing this book out."

Barry Goldwater



EVERY CONSERVATIVE knows, from his own aching experience, the deliberate lies that engulfed Barry Goldwater in 1964. So does Lionel Lokos (author of *Who Promoted Peress?*). But in 1964 Lokos did more than look on in outrage. He kept voluminous files before and during the campaign. With mounting fury, he watched the Liberal hatchetmen slant, suppress, twist, bury, lie. Millions of Americans were gulled.

It is too late to undo that debacle. But Lionel Lokos is determined at least to show *how* it happened: how a decent man and a great patriot was transformed into a monster by the "respectable" media. Here's just a hint of the smears that Lokos exposes:

- **The radio program that predicted that Goldwater as President would postpone the next Presidential election.**
- **Goldwater plans a vacation in the Bavarian Alps — and the Liberal press reports it as a neo-Nazi plot.**
- **The New York newspaper that prints all the news that fits . . . and therefore keeps silent about news favorable to Goldwater.**
- **LBJ's spokesman charges that Goldwater victory would bring sinking of American merchant marine.**
- **Liberals in never-never land: the charge that a Goldwater victory would mean forced labor camps in the U.S.**
- **The CBS report that Goldwater denounced as "the damnedest lie I ever heard."**
- **Rockefeller and Scranton cut up Goldwater. Barry's grim remark about their tactics.**
- **Goldwater's moving speech in support of his vote against the Civil Rights Bill of 1964.**
- **"A Diary of Defamation": day by day through the muck.**
- **Irresponsible fantasies in print — by Lippman, Pearson, many others.**
- **Disgraceful tactics of Look, Life, Newsweek, Time and the NBC, CBS and ABC networks.**
- **The hoax about NATO Commanders getting the right to fire nuclear weapons — authority which they already had!**
- **Goldwater's own interpretation of his statement on "extremism."**
- **The Left's greatest propaganda triumph: how they made a travesty of Goldwater's position on nuclear strategy.**
- **SNCC's John Lewis threatens the South with violence, but the Times writes of his "gentle army."**

Risk-Free Examination

Hysteria 1964 is a tribute to the author. It took uncommon courage to write this book. Lionel Lokos works for WQXR, the radio station owned by the *New York Times*, and Mr. Lokos dares to speak out against the policies of his own boss. How many of us, conservative or otherwise, would have the guts of this man?

Demands are growing to do something about dishonest press and TV coverage. The prejudices of the network commentators came through again on election night last November. Now in *Hysteria 1964*, Lionel Lokos has given us a case history of the way the Establishment manipulates facts in the service of its ideology. *Hysteria 1964* gives us a weapon we'll need in 1968 — to ward off 1984.

Send for your copy. We *guarantee* you'll be pleased with it or return book within 30 days for money back (including *extra* cash to cover your return postage). Mail coupon below with $4.00 to your bookseller or: Arlington House, 81 Centre Avenue, New Rochelle, New York 10801.

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Gentlemen: Please send, postpaid, Lionel Lokos' *Hysteria 1964*. My payment of $4.00 is enclosed. If not pleased, I may return book within 30 days for full refund plus extra cash to cover my return postage.

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